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JOURNAL OF VIKRAM UNIVERSITY, UJJAIN

VOL. 13 1969

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THE VIKRAM

JOURNAL OF

VIKRAM UNIVERSITY, UJJAIN

Vol. XIII No. 2 & 4 ARTS May & Nov. 1969

Abbr. J. Vk. Univ.

110484

स्टाक प्रमाणीकरण १९८४-१९८५

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पुस्तक संख्या ......
पञ्जिका संख्या ......
पुस्तक पर सर्व प्रकार की निशानियां लगाना वर्जित है। कोई सज्जन पन्द्रह दिन से अधिक देर तक पुस्तक अपने पास नहीं रख सकते। अधिक देर तक रखने के लिये पुनः आज्ञा प्राप्त करनी चाहिये।

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MALHAR RAO HOLKER'S RELATIONS WITH THE RAJPUTS (1761-1766 A. D.)

*Dr. S. K. Bhatt.

The history of the Holkers in the sixties of eighteenth century is very fascinating. It witnessed the rise of Malhar Rao Holker as a saviour of Maratha rule in northern India. The defeat of Maratha army at Panipat in 1761, gave an impetus to anti-Maratha movements in Rajputana.[1] The anihilation of Maratha forces at Panipat, no doubt provided an opportunity to the Rajput rulers of Rajputana, to form a grand political coalition against Deccani domination, but the lack of character amongst the Rajput rulers and their quarrels with the feudal barons, prevented them from taking advantage of the situation. This gave time to the Marathas, to repair their loss they suffered at Panipat. Credit for this goes to Malhar Rao Holker, the able and elder general who with his sagacious attitude and foresighted diplomacy, within less than twelve months after Panipat, restored the lost prestige of the Marathas in Northern India. How could Subhedar Malhar Rao accomplish such a speedy success over the Rajputs, destroying their plan of forming anti-Maratha coalition ? The answer to the question needs a proper study of Holker Rajput relations during Malhar Rao Holker.

On his return from Gwalior after the battle of Panipat, Malhar Rao set out immediately for restoring authority in the border tract between Malwa and Rajputana. He anticipated some trouble from the Chandrawats of Rampura and as such left Indore for taking precautionary measures against them[2]. Before Subhedar reached there, Laxamansingh Chandrawat had made a futile attempt to snatch back Rampura from Holkers; Krishnaji Tandeo, Kamavisdar of Mahantpur, foiled the plans of Chandrawats by slaying three to four hundred Rajputs.[3] Malhar Rao reached Rampura three days after this episode. By this victroy, out of 519 villages of the paragana of Rampura, 488 villages yielding an annual revenue of three lacs and a half, came over to the Holkers. The remaining 31 villages, Malhar Rao gave to Laxamansingh in Jagir.[4]

Madhosingh Kachhwaha, who was enthroned on the *gadi* of Jaipur with the help of Malhar Rao, was then leading an anti-Maratha coalition in Northern India. He having obtained the castle of Ranthambore, dreamed of establishing supremacy over Kota, and Bundi and their dependencies.[5] In such situation the Rao of Kota was anxious to consolidate his position

* Paper read at All India Maratha History Seminar, Shivaji University, Kolhapur.

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by establishing his sway over the suburbs of Kota. In Maratha defeat at Panipat, he saw an opportunity of recovering lost Hara territories from the Holkers. As such he encouraged one of his officers, Abhaysingh Rathore in driving out the Maratha officers from the fort of Gagraun[6], establishing his authority there.[7] On hearing of Maratha reverses at Gagraun, Malhar Rao immediately left Rampura for Gagraun. He atonce invested the fort and sent a message to Dada Sahib to succour him with a contingent of ten thousand.[8] By June 1761, with the help of artillery despatched from Indore, Malhar Rao bombarded the fort and took it back from the Haras.[9]

Finding Malhar Rao pre-occupied at Rampura and Gagraun, Madhosingh set out to implement his plan of forming anti-Maratha coalition. He sent envoys to Najib Khan, Yaqub Khan and Shah Alam II for this purpose.[10] Invitations were sent to the Raos and Rajas of Sopar, Bundi, Kota, Kerauli and Khichi. Besides, Madhosingh assembled all his clans to force the Haras to acknowledge themselves as tributaries of Amber.[11] Rajput sources reveal that Rao Shatrushal did not meet Madhosingh and refused to join his plan of exterminating out the Marathas from Rajputana.[12]

According to Rajput sources, in 1759-60, Malhar Rao had gone up to Dhudar and on his way had seized Uniyara, compelling the Rao to pay the tribute to the Holkers.[13] Since then Sardarsingh had been paying tribute to Malhar Rao. In May 1761, Madhosingh led a punitive expedition against Sardarsingh of Uniyara. Thus the purpose of expedition was to force the Rao to pay the tribute to Amber instead of Holkers. An army of 4000 soldiers under the command of Raisingh Ghorchare was despatched to Uniyara.[14] According to Maratha sources Sardarsingh had given such a tough resistance to Jaipur army that after a month, another army of five thousand soldiers under the command of Nandlal Diwan had to be despatched from Amber, to subdue the Rao of Uniyara.[15]

Thus Uniyara was annexed to Jaipur territory.

After victroy of Uniyara, Madhosingh along with his army seems to have returned to Jaipur.[16] Uniyara episode purturbed the Holkers and the Haras alike. Anticipating Madhosingh's attack on Kota, Diwan Akheyraj Pancholi advised Shatrusal to seek Holker's help against the Kachhwahas[17]. Subhedar agreed to help Kota on payment of four lacs to Holkers and in September 1761; wrote to his agent Laljee Ballal Gulgulee at Kota, to press Akheyraj Pancholi for immediate payment (of the above said amount) to defray the expenses of the Maratha forces stationed at Nenve, conveying that the militia ordered from south (to help

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Kota) was on his way[18]. In the same month, Malhar Rao granted a jagir worth Rs. 10,000 to Laxmansingh Chandrawat, detaching him diplomatically from joining hands with the Rajputs against the Holkers.[19]

In october, when rainy season was over, Madhosingh after dividing his army into two contingents, despatched one detachment of 10,000 soldiers under the command of Nandlal Diwan to besiege and capture Nanve[20]. Kachhwah army routed the Maratha garrision (kept under Sadashiv Gopal) at Nenve, and moved towards Patan, while another contingent, under the command of Raisingh Ghorchade, seems to have proceeded to Lakheri, a place where the Marathas had established their garrision. The Jaipur army, after driving out the Maratha officers captured Lakheri,[21] and moved towards Kota and on its way near Kishori Patan, joined the main army (sent earlier under the command of Diwan Nandlal).[22] Thence both the contingents crossed Pally Ghat (six miles north of Indragarh), the point of confluence of the Par and the Chumbul. The Hara chieftain of Sultanpur, whose duty it was the defence of the ford, was taken by surprise; but like a true Hara, he gathered his kinsmen outside his castle and fought the Jaipur army[23]. He was easily overpowered by the enemy. Jaipur army, flushed with this fresh success, proceeded through the heart of Kota until they reached Bhatwara.

Malhar Rao was closely watching the movements of Kacchwah army from Mukundwara, on hearing that Jaipur army had crossed Pally Ghat, with an army of 12,000 soldiers, he rushed towards Kota[24]. At Bariya in Kota territory, he was joined by 3,000 Rajput allies under Akheyraj Pancholi, the Diwan of Kota, the youthful Zalimsingh, and the Rao Rajah's fosterbrother[25]. Malhar Rao promptly marched on with his army and met the Jaipur army on 28th November 1761 in the afternoon at a place between Bhatwera and Mangrol. Next day both the armies came into clash with each other. In the beginning Kachhwah army repulsed Kota contingent, causing 700 causalties from the Haras. This perturbed Zalimsingh and his allies and they immediately consolidated their position with the help of the jagirdars of Palayaths, Sangod and Bamulya[26]. The battle started in the morning and ended at the sunset. Most of the officers of Kachhwah army, including the supreme commander, fled away wounded. Rajsingh Ghorchade and Shaligram Shah too were severely wounded[27]. A large number of soldiers of Jaipur army lost their lives. Entire camp and baggage were left by the vanquished and was looted by the victors. Subhedar's skin was grazed by a bullet.[28] Thus won Malhar Rao the decisive battle of Bhatwara on 29th November, 1761.

The battle of Mangrol proved a nightmare for Madhosingh. Malhar's victory smashed Rajput plan of forming an anti-Maratha coalition. 'It also decided the question of tribute, the Kachhwah since this day dared not to

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advance the question of supremancy, which as a liuetenant of the Empire he (Madhosingh) desired to transfer to himself.[29] It also restored Maratha prestige, which had been eclipsed as the result of Panipat[30] '.

Kachhwah army was hotly pursued by the Maratha forces and Kota contingent. Raisingh Ghorchade fled away wounded with his contingent; while crossing Sukami river, Kachhwah horsemen were attacked by Kota army[31]. After a few days halt at Mangrol, Subhedar pursued the fugitives as far as Khopra[32]. From Khopra he came to Manoharpur (40 miles north of Jaipur) to press the demand for tribute[33]. The encampment of Maratha army at Manoharpur near Jaipur, perturbed Madhosingh so much that he lost the balance of his mind. The presence of Maratha forces created panic in the minds of Kachhwahas. To relieve this tension, Kaniram, the Diwan of Jaipur reopened negotiations with the Maratha general to settle the dispute of the outstanding tribute[34].

While these negotiations were going on, there came the news of the invasion of Bundelkhand by Emperor Shah Alam II and his wazir Shuja-ud-daulah. On hearing it, Malhar Rao immediately left Jaipur territory, by way of Nandgaon, Sakore and Pataudi, for Jhansi[35]. Before he reached Jhansi, the fort had been already conquered by the imperial forces. So on 27th Feb. 1762 A. D. Malhar Rao left Jhansi for Indore. Owing to the injury suffered at Mangrol, he had become very weak and had been ailing[36]. Thus the unexpected invasion of Bundelkhand, relieved Madhosingh of the tension caused by the Maratha demand of payment of tribute and the Marathas could not reap financial benefits out of the defeat of the Kachhwah army at Mangrol.

Rajput sources of history give undue credit to Kota contingent for the victory at the battle of Mangrol. According to Tod, Maratha army did not fight against the Kachhwah army and their leader Malhar Rao Holker, merely plundered the enemy camp ! He says, "Malhar Rao Holker was encamped in their vicinity, with the remnant of his horde, but so crestfallen since the fatal day of Panipat, that he feared to side with either. At this moment young Zalimsingh, mounting his steed, galloped to the Marathas, implored him, if he would not fight, to move round and plunder the Jaipoor camp[37]". Dr. Mathuralal Sharma also supports Tod when he said that Malhar Rao had signed no-war pact with both Kota and Jaipur, and as such did not think it proper to side with Kota against Jaipur. So he assured Zalimsingh to help by remaining neutral and plundering Jaipur army, in the event of their defeat. Though the Marathas did not fight with Kota against Kachhwahas, yet they could create a

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feeling that Holkers had sided with Kota.[38] Not only this Dr. M.L. Sharma has repudiated Sir Jadunath Sarkar's theory that the Marathas bore the brunt of the fight at Mangrol, on the ground that Sarkar has exclusively relied upon Maratha sources, which are full of self-praise and boasting, and are hardly reliable.

Shyamaldas Kaviraj, while representing Rajput tradition, makes an astonishing statement to the effect that Malhar Rao Holker was invited by Madhosingh to help Jaipur against the cause of Kota, but the Kota Rao cleverly detached Holkers by paying them an amount of Rs. 4 lacs[39].

But a close and critical scrutiny of the sources of Maratha history as well as the history of the Rajputs, reveal the shallowness of the above mentioned Rajput traditions. Our observations in this connection, can be summarised as under :—

1. Rajput tradition does not provide information regarding the number and movement of Maratha army at Mangrol.

2. Rajput tradition when compared to Maratha tradition, reveals that the earlier is not based on regular and reliable contemporary despatches and diary as we find in the case of latter tradition.

3. The factual study of the battle of Mangrol disproves Rajput tradition. How could Kota contingent, which hardly consisted of a number equal to one-fourth strength of Jaipur army, give such a crushing defeat that they destroyed the whole army and pursued the enemy up to his capital ? Sir Jadunath Sarkar appears to be correct in his version when he says that the Maratha forces under Malhar Rao waged war for nine hours against Jaipur army and Zalimsingh played a minor part in the battle of Mangrol.

4. Tod has undully relied upon the Bardic sources of Rajput history.

5. Dr. M. L. Sharma's argument about the unreliability of Maratha sources, stands more true for Rajput sources on which he has unduely relied on. Besides, he and Shyamaldas Kaviraj have based their works mostly on Tod's History of Rajputana.

II

On 3rd April 1761, Ari Singh II succeeded to the throne of Mewar. The ungovernable temper of the Rana and the circumstances under which he succeeded to power, introduced a train of disorder which proved fatal to the interest of Mewar. The Maratha interference in Mewar's internal affairs, resulted in heavy financial drain on the part of Udaipur government and led to the failure of regular payment of annual subsidy, promised

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in writing by the Maharana to Baji Rao in 1736 A. D. The subsidy had fallen into arrears from last so many years and its payment had been repudiated by the Mewar rulers. In 1761 Peshwa attracted Malhar Rao's attention to the subsidy affair, advising him to led an army against Udaipur Rana, to put pressure for payment of Khandani arrears and to squeeze also ten or twelve lacs of Rupees out of the new Maharana Ari Singh, as his succession-fine. In June and October 1761, Malhar Rao had planned a vigorous policy against the newly enthroned Rana of Udaipur[40], but his preoccupations at Jaipur affairs prevented him from taking action against Udaipur. And throughout the whole of 1762 and 1763, the Marathas remained so much engaged in their internal matters that their interests in Rajputana were neglated. Besides, Malhar Rao owing to his old age and recurring ill-health, could not resume to his plan of going to Udaipur to collcct Khandani arrears.

In March 1764 Malhar Rao made up his mind to decide the pending case of Udaipur. He wrote to Rana Ari Singh to pay the arrears of Pashwa's subsidy and his dues. Maharana Ari Singh was engaged at that time in civil war and was in no position to pay off the arrears. In April, on the plea of recovering the arrears of Pashwa's subsidy and the rent (*hasil*) of Boodha, Jarda and Kanjarda, on the Chambul in Paragana Rampura Malhar invaded Mewar. He advanced as far as Ontala and looted Mewar territory. On this Arjunsingh, the Rao of Kurabara and the Rana's foster-brother met Malhar Rao and negotiated for a compromise. Subhedar Malhar demanded the payment of Rs. 60 lacs. Hardpressed by the circumstances, the Rana agreed to pay an amount of Rs. 51 lacs. A compromise deed in a form of no dues certificate was signed by both parties. The copy of the same is being given as under[41] :—

श्री महालसाकान्त चरणी तत्पर खण्डोजी सत मल्हार जी होलकर

श्री मोरया

करारनामा राजश्री मलारराव होलकर अपरंची श्री राणाजी सुं म्हारो हेत वहार थेठ सुँ चाल्या आया है, जणी मे कोणी बात को तफावर न पड़सी. श्रीमंत पतं प्रधानजी पटावाबत तथा सींधारा तथा घरू परगणा बुढारा मुकाता व जोरडा, कणजेरा जामुन्या, रामपुरा के टपे बाबत लेषो समत १८२० बीस रे साल तांई सुद्य करे लीधा. बाकी का रुपया तीनों मामलत का निकल्या जीका लीषंत कराय लीया. अब कोई अठां पहलीरो लीष्यो पढयो नीसरे सोरद, सारो सुलझाड़ो अगं पहलीरां साफ कीधो जो कोई भलो बुरो झुटी सांची मालुम करे सो मंजुर नही इणी वातरो करारनामा वेल भंडार करे दीधा. मीती वैशाख बद ५ संवत १८२० (ईस कागज में श्रावणी संवत है, और चैत्रादि हिसाब से संवत १८२१ लग गया)

शामलदास कविराज कृत 'वीर विनोद'' से उद्घृत—पृष्ठ १५४६.

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The Rajput tradition given by Tod has been challanged by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, on the ground that it is unsupported by history. He further substantiates his contention by saying that Maharana had not 51 lacs to spare, and if Malhar had actually collected such a vast sum the Pashwa would have taken the lion's share of it and there would have been an entry about it in the account books of Peshwa which are still preserved. He is of the opinion that Tod's tradition really refers to Tukojee Holker, who went upto Ontala in May 1769 A. D.[42]

Sir Jadunath Sarkar's thesis appears to be bit logical. But Tod's tradition has been now supported by history. Shamaldas Kaviraj gives a copy of the *Ikrarnama*, making us to believe that Malhar really went to Udaipur in 1764. The legend of the seal put on the document (Ikrar nama),"

and the year," "

provides sufficient proofs to establish that Tod's tradition does not refer to (as supposed by Sarkar) Tukojee Rao Holker.

About the amount of Rs. 4 lacs, we may agree with Sir Jadunath Sarkar that Maharana was in no possition to spare such a big amount to Holkers. And the Ikrarnama also does not give the figures of the amount paid to Malhar Rao. It simply hints that all the dues of Peshwa's Khandani and Malhar's *Hasal* (rent) of Sindhara, Bhoodha, Mukasa, Jarda, Kanjarda, Jamuniya and Paragana of Rampura, have been paid now (by the Rana) and the pending accounts of all the three governments (Peshwa, Holker and Udaipur) have been settled and nothing remains in the arrear of the Rana. From the text of the Ikrarnama it appears that atleast half of the amount would have been paid as Holker's Hasil and that needed no mention in Peshwa's account-books. About rest of the amount of 25 lacs, we do get a hint in Holker's sources of history that out of Rs. 25 lacs fixed as tribute from Rana of Udaipur, 6 lacs were paid in cash to Peshwa in 1764.[43] If this is accepted then we get ample justification for the sum of Rs. 51 lacs. As for the paying capacity of the Rana was concerned, Rana had no money even in 1769 and even then he settled the succession issue by promising payment of 64 lacs out of which he paid 33 lacs in cash and bullion.[44] Under these circumstances, Tod's tradition supported by Shyamaldas Kaviraj does not appear as hypothitical.

Thus Malhar Rao Holker reestablished Maratha supremacy in Northern India within a period of five years after the battle of Panipat, by following an active and foresighted policy against Madhosing and Ari Singh, the two powerful Rajput Rajas of his times.

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References :

1. Vide Malhar Tukdeo's letter from Selection From Peshwa Dafter (SPD) vol, XXIX, letter no. 81, The date of the letter given as May 1765, appears to be wrong on the basis of the contents of the letter. It should be 1761.
2. Refer to, Malhar Rao's letter sent to Kota to Laljee Ballal Gulgule, Holker's agent at Kota. V. V. Thakur's, Holkershahichya Itihaschi Sadhane, Vol. I, P. 97 letter 157.
3. Bhasker Ballal's letter to Peshwa Nana Sahib, vide SPD, vol. XXVII, pp. 3775–77. Sir Jadunath Sarkar gives the number of causalities as six to seven hundred, while Malhar Tukdeor eports the number of causalities from Rajput side as five hundred to one thousand. SPD. Vol. XXIX, p. 4197. Fall of Mughal Empire, Vol. II p. 361. (1952 edition)

   Holkers obtained Rampura from Madhosingh for helping him in gettng the throne of Jaipur in preference to Iswar Singh, who was the eldest son of the Raja of Jaipur. Tod's Annals and Antiqnities of Rajsthan. Vol. II p. (1957 edition).
4. Holkershahichya Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. I, p. 98.
5. Tod. II, p. 398. Refer to Dr. Mathuralal Sharma's Kota Rajya ka Itihas Vol. II, pp. 438–42. (Kota edition)
6. Fort situated in 24 38'N. and 76 12'E., at the junction of the Ahu and Kali Sind rivers. Imperial Gazeteer of India, Vol. XII, pp. 121-22. (1908 edition)
7. Refer to SPD, Vol. XXVII, p. 3775.
8. Ibid, p. 3771.
9. Ibid, pp. 3773 and 75.
10. Ibid, Vol XXIX, pp. 4138–39.
11. Tod, Vol. II. p. 416.
12. The following reasons have been assigned for Shatrusal's refusal to join Madhosing's plan:—
    (i) The relations between Jaipur and Kota were not cordial, as their interests clashed on the issue of Ranthambore.
    (ii) Looking to the recent successes of Holker against the Rajputs at Rampura and Gagraun, Shatrusal was in no position to face the Marathas again in any new warfare.
    (iii) Shatrusal was fully aware of the fact that in the name of anti–Maratha coalition, Madhosingh had followed up designs to render the small states of Central India dependent on Amber.

    Vide Dr. M. L. Sharma's, Kota Rajya Ka Itihas, Vol. II pp. 438–442.

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On the basis of Maratha sources, Sarkar writes that Kota had also promised to join Madhosingh in his plan of formation of anti-Maratha coaliation. Fall of Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 362.

It appears that Kota had accepted the invitation for he did not want to earn the displeasure of Madhosingh at that time, but alter on decided not to champion the cause of Madhosingh by not helping him in his plan.

13. Shamal Das Kaviraj, Vir Vinod, p. 1303.
14. SPD. Vol. XXIX, p. 4197.
15. Ibid, p.

The numerical strength of forces (9000), despatched against Uniyara Rao, as recorded in Marathi sources, appears to be doubtful. Uniyara being a small principality, hardly would have needed such a big army for its annexation by Jaipur.

16. Maratha correspondences and Rajput records reveal that after taking Uniyara, Jaipur Maharaja returned to his capital, and Kachhwaha army moved towards Lakheri and Nanve. SPD, Vol. XXIX, p. 4142. & M. L. Sharma, II, p. 442.

The above version appears to be doubtful, for we do not learn any thing about the activities of Kachhwah army before October, 1761 from either of the sources. Besides, the approach of rainy season would have compelled Madhosingh also to postpone the further march of Jaipur army till the arrival of campaigning season by october or so.

17. Vide Thakur Laxmandan, cited from Kota Rajya Ka Itihas, Vol. II, pp. 443-44.
18. Holkershahichya Itihasachi Sadhne, Vol. I, p. 100.
19. Ibid, p. 100.
20. SPD, Vol. XXIX, p. 4139.
21. Tod, Vol. II, p. 417.
22. SPD. Vol. XXIX, pp. 4141-42.
23. Tod, Vol. I, p. 416.
24. The number of Rajput soldiers, given in Rajput traditions, appears to be much inflated and do not tally with Maratha sources of history. According to Dr. Mathuralal Sharma, the Kacchwah army consisted of 60,000 soldiers and the Kota contingent had 15,000 Haras, (vide Kota Rajya Ka Itihas, Vol. II, p. 443). Tod gives the number of Hara soldiers as five thousand. (Vol. II, p. 417). It is surprising how Jaipur could maintain an army (of 60,000) equal to Abdallies ! Besides, Rajput sources are totally silent about the number of Maratha forces.

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Sources of the History of the Holkers reveal that Jaipur army has 20,000 Rajput soldiers, while Subhedar collected an army of 25,000 soldiers. (A. N. Bhagwat's, Holkeranchi Kaifiyat, p.24. 2nd Edition).

Peshwa records bring into light, the reliable number of Rajput as well as the Maratha army as under :—

(i) One contingent despatched to Nenve under the command of Diwan Nandlal, consisted of 10.000 soldiers (SPD,XXI, pp. 2286–88) About second detachment sent under the command of Raisingh Ghorchade, we do not get any information from Peshwa records. But total number of Kacchwah army is hinted as 12,000. (Chinto Krishna, Sindia's commander who fought against the Kachhwah army reports, vide SPD, II, p. 71).

(ii) Khanaji Jadhao, Sindia's officer, reports the number of Holker's forces as 6,000 accepted by Sarkar also, vide, Fall. II, p. 363). appears to be misleading. Holker's army including militia sent from south, perhaps consisted of 10,000 soldiers Sindia's 2,000 (S. P. D. XXIX, p. 4141) and Kota contingent of 3,000 Haras. (SPD, XXI, p. 2288) Thus the tolal comes to 15,000 and this is supported by Ramrao Narsinh's letter to Raghunath Rao, vide SPD, XVII, p. 3785.

25. SPD, II, pp. 71–72.
26. Kota Rajya Ka Itias, Vol. II, pp. 444–45.
27. SPD, II, pp. 70–72.
28. SPD, XXI, pp. 2286–88.
29. Tod, Vol. II, p. 417.
30. Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 364. (1952 edition)
31. Kota Rajya Ka Itihas. Vol. II, p. 445.
32. SPD, Vol. XXIX, p. 4148.
33. SPD, Vol. II, pp. 72–73.
34. Ibid.
35. SPD, Vol. XXIX, p. 4152.
36. Ibid, pp. 4154–55.
37. Tod, II, p. 417.
38. Kota Rajya Ka Itihas, Vol. II, p. 444.
39. Vir Vinod, p. 1418.
40. SPD, Vol. XXVII, pp. 3773 and 3785.

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41. Tod, Vol. I, p. 339. Shyamaldas Kaviraj's Vir Vinod, p. 1546.
42. Refer to Fall of Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 370.
43. Refer to Subhedar Malhar Rao's letters dated 8.7.1765 A. D. The text of the letter is as under :—

—श्री—

सुभा राजश्री मल्हारजी होलकर रोजकीर्द :

माहे मोहरम मुकाम दफाते पत्र ता. ८ जुलाई सन् १७६५ इ० राजश्री उदेपुरचे नजरे ऐवजी पंचवीस लक्षापैकी पेशजीं सहा लक्ष देवविले होते. त्याशिवाय हल्ली रु. १,०५६०६ संवत् १८२० पर्यंत बाकी निघाली. अलीकडे संवत् १८२१,२२, दोन साले झाली त्या ऐवजी चार लक्ष रुपये श्रीमंताकडे पाठविणे म्हणोन. सरकारी रेकॉर्ड.

Vide Holkershahichya Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. I, p. 139.

44. Tod, Vol. I, pp. 344 and 348.

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KĀLIDĀSA'S CONCEPT OF LOVE

by
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Kālidāsa, the embodiment of ancient Indian culture, is brightest luminary in the firmament of Indian poetry. He is hailed as the king of poets with whom 'ANĀMIKĀ SĀRTHAVATĪ BABHŪVA' is justified in the true sense. Superb characterisation, judicious selection of theme, neat harmonisation of events, keen observation of human nature, perfect delineation of love, soft treatment of Nature, sweet diction of words, chaste style, simple, melodious and perspicuous language, unartificial use of figures of speech, exuberance imagination have earned for him an exalted place in the galaxy of world poets. His poetry is for all times and for all climes. It has the supreme power to provide peace and pleasure, solace and satisfaction to all who seek for these. It may be compared with a shadowy big banyan tree which affords relief and cool to heat-tortured way-farers. The poet represents the full life of a man in the world by means of his poetry. He moulds the life of people, guides people in their life with the presentation of sacred high ideals of human life and shows the values of life in their correct proportion and in correct perspective. His ideals are high faultless. He is a great supporter of moral values and never approves of the path of dissipation. His wisdom lies in the harmonious pursuit of different aims of life and development of an integral personality. He unfolds his characters in a natural but dignified way as a flower unfolds its petals in the rain and sunshine. He presents humanity along with Nature as forming an integral and valuable part of this world of beauty and happiness. So, his persuasive manner leaves an indelible stamp of his messages and ideals on our minds which lead us to success in every sphere of life. Therefore, Kālidāsa stands unique in the whole extent of Sanskrit Literature and so has been paid the richest tribute and eulogised in glorious terms for his literary flourishes by the Indian as well as Western critics.

Kālidāsa's genius has brought the Sanskrit poetry to the highest elegance and refinement and it is a wonder that Kāvya attains climax in him. We do not find that type of poetry either in the earlier or in his contemporary poets, which could explain the finished excellence of Kālidāsa's poetry. Being a true representative of Indian culture, he reveals various values of human life by means of his poetry and makes an excellent approach for the welfare of the whole and thus leads the humanity towards the supreme goal and plays very prominent role in the history of Indian culture.

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Love is universal. The height of human personality attains perfection in love. It is not an affair of the senses only, but is the kinship of spirit. Not only the birds, beasts and human beings, but Śiva, the greatest austere is also in love and even flora and fauna, trees and creepers are pervaded, stimulated and instigated by this passion. It is one of the four goals of human life and it is true that sex is not inconsistent with the spiritual attainment. It is an instrument of individual and social regeneration. Only the wild life and unrestrainted passion is inconsistent with the society. Sex life under law and control is spiritual in character. One can lead the life of a house-holder and yet be a hermit in temper. The chief goal of human life is joy, serenity and not pleasure and carnal happiness. The aim of love is a happy harmony between man and woman. Therefore, love poetry is the dominant note in literature and it has attracted the mind of Kālidasā and so he has lavishly decorated his literary flourishes with this sweet and harmonious element of human heart. The exquisite blend and delight of this feeling is a characteristic feature of all his compositions and the poet is an accomplished master in its demonstration. It is also a very significant fact to be noted that instead of presenting all gamuts of human feeling and instincts, such as kindness, piety, generosity, heroism, jealousy, the poet displays love sentiment mainly in all his creations. He very minutely observes and realizes the value and fundamental character of this passion and so concentrates his full attention in its delineation. Therefore, love blooms in glorious colours in his works and with progressive development, gains its perfection

Concept of Beauty

Kālidāsa stands supreme as a strange and magic creator of the feminine beauty. His poetic portrait of beauty is infinitely superior than the creation of the creator and it blooms and blossoms in full grandeur and perfection in the field of love. It becomes embellishment[1] even of ornaments. His heroines are matchless perfection in allurement and maintain the same glamour[2] and glory in all conditions. He sings of the harmony[3] between physical charm and the beauty of the heart. He emphasises more on the inner sweetness than the outer appearance. Beauty is only successful[4] when the heroine captivates the heart of her lover, otherwise it is useless, futile. His heroines are the first and loveliest creation of God and so are unique. He portrays pen-pictures of his heroines. They are the unrivalled and unparalleled creation of God Brahman, as Adyā[5] Aparā[6] Sṛṣṭir. Mālavikā with her long eyes and radiating face like the stainless moon[7] of the autumnā, the youthful wife of bereaved Yakṣa with her slender[8] body, Urvaśī with her matchless[9] loveliness, Umā bending[10] a little low due to her heavy breasts, Śakuntala a sylvan[11] glory in bark garments, Indumatī like a moving glittering flame[12] of the lamp, and Sita, with her thin structure[13] command our attention.

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Concept of Love

Kālidāsa is a poet of love. He highly sings of love and says[14] that the sovereignty of the world is not as sweet and pleasant as is the lover's servitude at the feet of his beloved. The world is dark and desolate to whom love is denied but it is bright and blissful to whom it is gained. But as it is generally understood that love is a sensual passion of human heart which rises by phycical loveliness, craves a physical satisfaction and is consummated after satisfaction. So being physical in nature, it may be satisfied even in absence of mutual feeling of one another. Here marriage means the corporal union of the lovers and not of heart. Such type of passionate love does not require the harmony of inner feelings. On the contrary, true love springs from hearts and it recks little of the bodily beauty No obstacle can damp its harmony. Death may separate lovers physically but is unable to disjoin heartly, who are animated by ideals of true love. Thus, love is an abiding sentiment of heart which paves the way to man's ennoblement. It eliminates the grosser passion and lifts lovers above the common.

Kālidāsa's imagination dwells upon various kinds of love. Thus his uninhibited ideal of love has undergone gradual development. The poet disfavours passionate love, rooted in physical grace. Love based on physical consideration and self interest ends in grief. It is a mere passion which needs physical satisfaction. It seeks the help of outer appearance, extraneous decorations, outward setting. Such type of sensuous love does never lead to peace and pleasure. It is also cursed and condemned. So he favours and admires the union free from lust and amorousness. Such love ensures divine happiness for the lovers. True love cares not for bodily union but longs for requital. It is better to die for a lover than be wedded to one who is callous. There is no charm and eagerness in a union where one of the lovers is anxious and other is indifferent from him. On the other hand death[15] is better where the lovers cherish equal love and are equally ardent for each other, but have no hope of the union. The yearning[16] of lovers for union gives them all joys and delight even in the absence of its fulfilment. It grows[17] in intensity and eternity by obstacles to its realisation and revelation as the current of a river blocked on its way by uneven rocks, flows with greater force. This voices the loftiest conception of love. So love born by the physical attraction should be sublimated into true love, based on penance and restraint. It should be deepened by hardship, austerity and suffering for its own sake. He does not accept the first union of lovers as model lapse. The aim of love is a happy harmony between husband and wife. The unity of husband and wife is the greatest pleasure.

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The concept of Ardhanārīśvara[18] reveals this Kālidāsa's truth in clearer perspective. The wife does not belong to the husband but makes a whole with him. The wife[19] is the root of all social welfare. She accompanies him in every sphere of life. The wife is 'Sahadharmacāriṇī[20]'. She is with him in the performance of all duties. Indumatī[21] was to Aja a housewife, a wise counsellor, a good friend, a faithful and beloved pupil in learning the fine arts.

Kālidāsa believes that marriage is fulfilled in parenthood. Its final goal is only in the acquisition of a progeny and not in the fulfilment of sensual joys. The birth of a child is the true fruition of the hymeneal life. The progeny is the silken bond between the husband and wife. Therefore, the poet regards mothers with great respect and dignity. Love should be culminated in wedlock and hymeneal joy should be concluded in a progeny. The marriage of Śiva and Umā is brought about for the birth of Kumāra, the main aim of love. This heroic progeny rescues the world from the terror of demon Tāraka and restores peace and and prosperity to Amarāvatī, the deserted and ruined city of gods. The Kāmasambhava union of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā ends in marriage and wedlock finds its fulfilment in birth of a son, a heroic progeny who becomes the sovereign ruler of this earth of seven continents and the country is named after his name as Bhārat. The descendants of solar dynasty come in the second stage of life only for the sake of a progeny[22] and not for sensual satisfaction. Kālidasa loves children very much as it is apparent from his description of Āyus, Kumāra, Bharata and Raghu.

Kālidāsa's concept of love reveals wider implication in relation to the family and society. He emphasises that even this spiritual love is not merely self-regarding. In its positive aspect, love should be consecrated by wedlock and should enure the stability of the social organisation. He asserts that love should not be a ban to the society and a hindrance in the performance of duties. It should not be against the social, cultural, religious, and moral values. It should promote the interest and welfare of society in every field and should lead it to the higher achievement.

Thus, love is lifted to the higher plane by Kālidāsa. He enriches love with his poetic genius and engages all his talented craft and high imagination in purification and sublimation of this passion. His love of poetry, therefore, is excellent because of true and ideal love. Thus he proves that life is real, life is important, life is valuable, life is beautiful, life is enjoyable. The supreme pleasure is in life on the earth. God Śiva has proved this truth by his own example. The poet is an accomplished master in the

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delineation of love in union as well as in separation. The joy which comes in reunion after separation, when hearts become purified with the removal of lustful passion, gives more delight and becomes eternal. The union which is blessed with a progeny is the best. This is the real culmination of love and true fruition of hymeneal life.

Kālidāsa realizes the dignity and worth of human life and endeavours hard to present high and innocent ideals in order to promote the interest and welfare of the society and thus provides eternal bliss to humanity. For him, the path of wisdom lies in the harmonious pursuit of different aims of life and in the development of an integral personality. He impresses these ideals on our minds by the magic of his poetry, richness of his imagination, profound knowledge of human nature, delicate description of the most tender emotions of human heart and no doubt, the poet has achieved brilliant success in his attempt. Being the spirit of Indian culture, he is a national poet. His poetic gifts are for all times and climes, beyond the limit of individual, time and space, revealing the universal truth for common goodwill. Really, he deserves for the famous saying:—

ANĀMIKĀ SĀRTHAVATĪ BABHŪVA

Treatment of Love

Kālidāsa excels in the treatment of love in union as well as in separation. He yearns to demonstrate love in varying situations and in various colours and presents his ideal by progressive development. He depicts love in union on earthly plane between mortals and leads it on heavenly plane and then presents the harmonious communion between the two. For this purpose, he utilizes mortal, semi-divine, divine, mortal-cum-divine, and perfect human characters.

Ṛtusaṃhāra is the first literary product of Kālidāsa's budding genius, having Nature as its dominant theme. The lyric contains the fervent address of a passionate youthful lover. It lacks in the serenity of thoughts and sublimity of emotions. The little poems deals with romantic love in union only between mortal lovers. Thus, the Ṛtusaṃhāra is impetuous love, containing the warm emotions of juvenile hearts. The Mālavikāgnimitra presents free love between lovers of earthly sphere and ends with the marriage. Based on physical charm, it contains frailties, weaknesses and selfishness of sensual passion and has no depth. This voluptuous love develops within the setting of courtly intrigue. Here, a young lady who has taken to the monastic order, becomes the instrument for lover's union. In the Meghdūta, lovers are semi-divine. The newly wedded pair are in their bloom of youth. Owing to negligence of duty, caused by deep attachment and excessive flush of passion lovers are punished for a year's separation. But amorous love in youth, is purified in suffering and secures hope

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for perpetual union in future. The poem sings of love and beauty of Nature in separation only. It is an idyll of fairy land. Fanciful thoughts take wings. It is the sweetest and supreme imagination of the poet. So, it is beautiful and sublime, glorious and lovely, tender and sweet. Kālidāsa's first attempt of combining earth and heaven is witnessed in the Vikramorvaśīya. It is a beautiful blending of human and superhuman elements. The lover is an earthly king and the beloved is a celestial nymph. The impetuous passion in wilderness, gains revelation in suffering and it is very significant to note that happy union begets a progeny, the real fruition of love. The Kumārsaṃbhava treats purely divine love. The union between Śiva and Umā is brought about for the sake of a progeny. The epic unfolds the beauty of human love by elevating it to the divine plane Physical grace fails to win over the objective and later on it is chastened by Tapas and gains the goal. It is the most beautiful combination of beauty and austerity. Here, Śiva himself is brought into the stage for the good of all. When the God resolves self composure by penance, the poet very wisely and silently converts him into a bridegroom in order to get a heroic progeny for the protection of the whole universe. The Abhijñānśakuntala is a harmonious communion between earth and heaven, while delineating mortal-cum-divine love. The play presents the young years' blossoms, ripening into the mellow fruit of the vernal. It describes love in youth, heedless of future. Based on bodily loveliness, it is marked by ignorance of duty, indisciplined passion, and execution in secrecy in deep infatuation in the beginning. The unbridled love of lovers leads them to fall, bereavement and sorrows. But the same reaches on the sublime summit through the fiery ordeal of suffering, sacrifice and recognition of duty. It is blessed with a heroic son, the true culmination of hymeneal life and secures rich blessings from gods and others. The Raghuvaṃśa delinates pure love between perfect human characters and sings highly of Kālidāsa's glorious concept and ideal of love and displays very nicely the Indian culture in clearer perspective and in most glowing colour.

The Ṛtusamāhra gives a sensuous picture of different seasons and amidst the heart-captivating glory of Nature, delineates love in union only. Sensual love, irrelevant to morality, finds good expression in this poem. It describes the glamouring and fascinating phenomena of Nature from season to season. The poet very carefully presents the changing moods of lovers with the change of seasons. Youthful ladies, full of passion decorate themselves and are pining for their lovers and happy couples are enjoying the pleasures of youth. They are excessively engaged to amorous playings, regardles to other aims of life. But the happy union fails to win the goal the birth of a son. So Ṛtusaṃhāra is a superficiality and outward manifestation of love, but in fact, presents enchanting and glowing beauty of Nature.

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The Mālavikāgnimitra depicts love adventure of a maid and a voluptuous and handsome king of middle age, based on physical charm. It portrays human emotions and feeling, but lacks in depth and moves merely on the superfical plane. This is a zealous love,lovers always remain suspicious and fearful in their affairs. Agnimitra, the lover has to follow deceptive means to secure Mālavikā, the beloved and she is also confronted to severe obstacles. The love intrigue is confined to the extremity of royal palaces. The petulant king is very much fond of loveliness and runs after maidens in pursuit of beauty and grace[23] and is ensnared by a maid. He fails in the performance of his royal duties and so is rebuked in harsh satire by his chief queen. She says that it would be of much advantage if her lord may display the same efficiency in the affairs of the state. He is immodest and untrustworthy. So the play treats purely passionate love. A king of noble high royal family, husband of two good queens and father of a grown up young son, beguiles his valuble time after a dancing girl and makes his best possible efforts to secure her as his third queen.

The Meghadūta depicts love of married couple, fated to suffer separation for a year. Yakṣa, a young, passionate and uxorious newly married lover becomes remiss in his duties because of self-centred love for his beloved and his cursed. The Meghadūta is an excellent specimen of sorrows and sufferings of separated lovers. The whole poem describes the pains of bereaved hearts very effectively. It is a successful attempt to bring intimate association between human and Nature. It portrays wistfulness of a romantic lover in the rains when union between lovers becomes the most indispensable. The Yakṣa very eagerly conveys his solicitudes and love longings through a passing cloud to his bereaved wife, staying at Alakā. His bewailing makes even Nature to weep. Love in separation between two semi divine beings has poignant appeal in this poem The lustful love, ignorance of duty and ban to society is ridiculed and cursed here. The poet, in the later part of the poem crystalizes this grossful and gustful love in the balazing fire of bereavement, and prepares lovers for future meeting. But the poem gives no glimpse of the birth of a progeny.

The Vikramorvaśīya is remarkable to present love romance between human and divine characters. Purūravas, a mortal king is endowed with superphysical power and Urvaśi, a divine damsel possesses human traits. Love between human and divine is unusual. So Kālidāsa brings heaven on the earth. Love sprouts in their heart at first glance, enamoured of phyiscal attractions. Both are eager and restless[25], so are Utkaṇṭhitas for union, as a heated iron is fit to be welded with another heated one. The king is unsatified with his chaste queen and longs for another, only for the fulfil-

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ment of his sensual desire only. After gaining Urvaśī, he wishes for another Vidyādhara lass. Thus, he is simply in habit of making new beloveds. The nymph is also covetous to have a mortal lover. In passion, Urvaśī forgets her duty while playing the role of Lakṣmī in a dramatic performance and is punished as her degradation from the heavenly abode. So their love is not pure and constant. Their selfish and grossful love leads them to separation and in this way, the poet provides them an opportunity to purge their sinful hearts. After purification, this love ends in parenthood. It secures divine favour. Indra blesses them a happy conjugal life on this earth. When they are reunited, they recognize their duty and no longer think of more enjoyment at Mt. Gandhamādana, but return atonce to the capital in order to discharge their duties for the welfare of their people. In the end this love becomes helpful to the society.

Thus, Kālidāsa presents meeting points between earthly and heavenly love. In the first phase, it is passionate, based on the outer appearance, ignorant of duties and common goodwill after sensuality. In the second phase, the poet elevates love to higher plane by suffering and so lovers make their hearts pure like heated gold. In the third phase, it is concluded into the joy of a son and good of all.

The Kumārasambhava is highly sigificant to treat purely divine love between Śiva and Parvatī as father and mother of the universe. In the beginning, it is remarkable that Śiva, after expiry of his former wife Satī, having denounced the worldly pleasure, becomes engaged in hard penance. In deep meditation, he remains steady, motionless like the unmoving flame of a solitary lamp. Free of passion, now he is compeletely indifferent to the beauty and grace of young maidens. Therefore, he is ANĀTURA. On the other hand, Pārvatī, endowed with blooming youth and the most alluring loveliness, is UTKANṬHITĀ for Śiva. Proud of her enchanting and fascinating charm, she approaches Śiva to ensnare him. But Śiva is self-possessed and firm in his resolves. He remains unmoved in the presence of budding youth and glowing glory of Umā. Cupid is reduced to ashes. Physical attractiveness ends in despair and brings no fruit. If under such circumstance, Kālidasa would have brought about the union between Śiva and Uma, ANĀTURA AND UTAKANṬHITĀ, it may not lead to happy conjugal life for longer time. It would have no charm. So the poet does not want that this divine pair would suffer in future, being united in the begining without recognizing one another. This is why, he takes new mould in order to achieve the perfection in his concept of love.

Though Parvatī fails in her attempt, yet she is very much conscious of her beauty and determines[25] to make it fruitful at any cost. Realizing

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the futility of her physical charm, she practices very severe austere penance, ignoring the delicacy of her body. She renounces royal pleasures and seeks mortification. In ordeal fire, her love is purged of grossness, Passion subsides. Considering very much of her beauty, she now no more cares the diformity of Śiva. She realizes the inner beauty of heart. With her severe austerity, she moves Śiva. The God is pleased with her true innocent love, self-sacrifice and complete dedication. He himself comes to her and declares himself as a slave purchased by TAPAS[26] and accepts her as his eternal consort. In the first instance, Pārvatī herself apporaches Śiva to captivate his heart, but fails. At the second stage, Śiva had to come to fulfil her desire, satisfied by her penance. Here physical grace and glamour serve no purpose, only TAPAS gains the goal. Thus, the poet wishes to convey that outer appearance is futile, but inner beauty crystilized by austerity definitely wins the aim. After Śiva's propitiation, she does not make hurry, but wishes that her Parents should be approached for the approval of the marriage. The love between this divine pair is consecrated by the wedding ceremony.

The poet loves very much the quiet domestic scene of marriage. Embllished with nuptial attires, Umā gains glory, nobility, dignity and tranquility of a house wife. The divine pair receive blessings from all to enjoy the conjugal bliss and to perform their duties unhesitatingly in association. This is the lesson of Kālidāsa regarding family life in the society. Here, marriage is concluded into progeny–the real fruition of hymeneal joy. The union between these two divine beings becomes most eesential to get a worthy commander-in-chief, the saviour of all. It brings happiness and delight, peace and prosperity to whole creation from the havoc of demon Tāraka. The creation of this epic, Kumārasaṃbhava, is the glorification of a child's birth in true sense. Whole efforts of gods are focussed to this mission. Cupid sacrifices his own life. Umā goes under hard penance. Thus, divine love is delineated in this epic for the welfare of entire creation. It is helpful to the society as well as to individual. It is not ban to our sacred high culture.

The Abhijñānaśākuntala deals with love passion between Duṣyanta and Śankuntalā. It is a beautiful blend of human and divine love. Love grows between a royal sage and a sylvan glory. Duṣyanta, the hero belongs to the lunar dynasty. He is a sovereign emperor, chivalrous and handsome youth and supporter of gods. Sakuntalā is from an earthly austere of a royal dynasty as her father and a beautiful celestial courtezan as her mother. She inherits patient and forgiving love from her mortal father and beauty and lightheartedness from her divine mother. The austerity of life and freedom of sense bring Śakuntalā into being. Her very birth is the fruit of

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austere penance and celestial loveliness. Thus, in her life, we mark the combination of earth and heaven, restraint and freedom, hardship and delicacy. Her grace is distinct from this world of mundane affair. The play contains love passion based on physical allurement, raised to true love based on moral beauty and spiritual understanding. Romantic lustful love described in the beginning has been elevated from perishable sphere of physical beauty to eternal sphere of moral beauty in the end. The poet very masterly leads this unstable earthly beauty and lustful romance to the higher, everlasting, uninterrupted bliss in the junction of earth and heaven.

In the beginning there are impulsiveness of blooming youth and physical grace which ensnare lovers to each other. A daughter of the hermitage in the first outburst of passion, gives herself up to an unknown visitor with full confidence. She really follows the path of nature. She is quite innocent, simple and does not know to control her feelings. Duṣyanta also falls victim to a sylvan beauty more charming than the queens of his royal harem. The romance and eros predominate over the lovers. At the first sight they are enamoured of each other and blind passion makes them disturbed even in the holy and serene surroundings of the hermitage. The poet describes in detail the tender sorrows of suffering hearts. In amorousness, both become deviated from the sacred path of duty. Both are so absorbing in intense and grossful love, based on physical consideration that they do not wait for the permission and blessing from sage Kaṇva. Duṣyanta does not attend the ceremony performed by his mother for his own sake and Śakuntalā fails to attend on sage Durvāsa. She becomes derelict from her duties Thus, love is not conscious of duty and is confined to personal happiness. It goes against the society.

Kālidāsa is not in favour of this passionate and lustful love. Therefore, it is cursed, leading to long separation. Śakuntalā in her pregnancy, approaches her loving husband, having all blessings and goodwishes of the forestworld, but she is rejected humiliated and ridiculed by the same Duṣyanta. A matchless beauty is standing before him and herself is begging his life companionship. Her physical grace now fails to win over the same hero, once who was fascinated. She is disowned and disgraced by her own husband before the public. Now she is standing alone, helpless, filled in terror, anguished in despair.

After repudiation, Śakuntalā leads a very hard life of austerity. As a devoted chaste wife, she suffers the worst. We have a glowing glimpse of her endurance, desertion, fortitude in suffering. She observes a very disciplined life of a bereaved wife. On the other hand, Duṣyanta recollects

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all after regaining the ring and bursts into remorse and repentance. He also suffers hard, but both obtain the reward of spiritual harmony. In bereavement, the youthful flush subsides, gust of passion dies out. Love is won at a higher level. Brief glow of pleasure by carnal happiness of the beginning is turned into a steady life of bliss. Lustful romance is linked with the sanctity of life. Nature and grace blend in harmony.

They are united again in the holy hermitage of sage Mārīca in the aerial region amidst earth and heaven The union between lovers is achieved through auspicious blessing, the son. Duṣyanta regains his wife through his son[27] who is predestined to be the sovereign emperor of the universe. Āryāvarta becomes famous as Bhārata after his good name. Thus, love ends with the fruition of parenthood. It gains the goodwill from all. God Indra himself makes devices for their union. In this way selfish and egoist love is replaced by virtuous and noble aim. Thus. the poet elevates romantic love, to pure love marked by a heroic son. We notice a gradual development from elemental love to the ideal love and so the play attains perfection in Kālidāsa's concept of love. This is the development of blossom into the mellow fruit of the vernal, of earth into heaven.

The lovers are enamoured of each other in the first glance due to corporal allurements. Grossness of passion leads them to be united through the Gāndarva system of marriage. But the poet disfavours such type of union. It results in misery and dissipation and never brings lasting bliss to the lovers. Duṣyant has a large harem and his affair now with Sakuntalā is similar to that of neglected queen Hansapadikā. Sakuntalā's own selfish and consuming passion needs purification, so the curse of sage Durvāsas proves as a boon and gives a warning that later on Sakuntalā will have to share the fate of Hansapadikā and she will have to suffer in the same manner. Kālidāsa clearly presents the result of their romantic and unbridled love. Duṣyanta and Sakuntalā both are on the right path and are wedded by Gāndharva system of marriage and have been blessed for happy conjugal life by sage Kaṇva and have goodwishes from all, but are unable to enjoy the happiness of hymeneal life and suffer the bitter sorrow of suffering. This is the greatest tragedy on the part of lovers. Thus, the poet provides a chance to crystelize their lustful love. In the beginning Duṣyanta is very much found of hunting, but he gives up this indulgence only in order to pursue the other, to gain Sakuntalā. Therefore, it is apparent that he is habitual of following of beauty and grace and is very much interested in increasing the number of Hansapadikās in his harem. Having regained the ring, a token of their love, he repents and sheds tears in deep sorrow and unmitigated grief, Now in suffering, he purifies his heart. He rises up to

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the selfishness and recognizes himself. He finds inner vision and realizes the eternal beauty of soul. Now he does not neglect his duties and serves[28] his people consciously, deligently. He makes a proclamation[29] that he himself would be the near and dear one whom his people might have lost. In the end he appears quite innocent and fresh like a stainless cloud of the autumn. Helpful to his people, he is now beaming with glowing lustre gained by good performance of his duties. He comes in Mārīca Āśrama free from all blamishes. The tranquil delight of his heart finds an echo in the sacred, calm and serene surrounding of the hermitage, which has all exciting elements, but all are subdued by the spritual calm. After repentancal mortification, lovers meet each other in pure and pious atmosphere. The union is borught about through Sarvadamana, their child. This reunion is the recognition of these two hearts. Now Śakuntalā does not want any token for her recognition. Previously the same youthful maiden of the hermitage of blooming excellent enchanting beauty saught for an external token for her recognition. This was fickleness of love which required such extraneous visible sign for the avowal. But same Sakuntalā having purged her heart in separation, finds light within self. Her unwarranted repudiation by her own husband continued with sublime magnanimity to practise the vow of separation. When Sakuntalā's love becomes spiritual and transcended material consideration, she no longer needs outward token for her recognition. The union of redeemed hearts already bound in wedlock, receives auspicious blessing from sage Mārīca and is approved by gods.

Thus, the Abhijñānaśākuntala is a story of redemption of love. The first part expresses the joy, pleasure and indulgence in persuit of love. Physical glamour brings the paradise for lovers,but it is lost soon due to deep attachment in amorous playings and by dint of heedless to duty. The middle part presents the purification of love, revelation of inner glory, realization of self and recognition of duty. The third one reveals the supreme bliss attained by true and austere love. The love gains its final goal, the acheivement of a heroic progeny and it sheds light on future peace and prosperity with the attainment of this progeny and it also brings welfare to the society. Thus, in the end paradise is regained by this crystelized spiritual love.

The Raghuvaṃśa is the climax of Kālidāsa and his concept of love finds its most complete and beautiful expression in this epic. This is distinguished love free from passion. It is developed in the interest of both, the individual and the society. The epic depicts the ultimate purpose of love, as conceived by the poet and he delineates it in the most refined poetical style. Kālidāsa deals with love passion between perfect human beings who border on the divinity. Love between man and woman has been displayed in this epic in the most gorgeous and true colour and in perfection The first verse of this celebrated epic has been addressed to Śiva and Umā

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father and mother of the creation. This suggests affectionate and harmonious relationship between husband and wife. The love is deepened here by hardship and suffering. As a supporter of ordered and purposive life, Kālidāsa emphasises on the observance of four PURUṢĀRTHAS of human life.

Kālidāsa unfolds his high ideal of love with the presentation of many kings of solar dynasty. He rolls up all characters into one. The descendants of this noble dynasty marry only for progeny and not for satisfaction of their senses. So they are not passionate. Wedding ties them to life long union. They enjoy pleasures of conjugal life only in youth[30] and never become lost in carnal joys. Married life matures in progeny. A progeny born in the family assures a respectable place to his parents in this world and also provides a high place in the heaven. He makes happy to his deceased forefathers and protects them from the hell by performing sacrifices, religious rights and by offering water oblation. So it is no wonder that issueless[31] king Dilīpa is immersed in deep sorrow. Being a sovereign ruler of the earth he experiences untolerable grief. Precious stones and gems are invain for him. He undergoes hard austerity with his wife to get a son. Exiled Sītā by her husband keeps herself alive only with a desire to maintain the chain[32] of the solar dynasty unbroken even in severe suffering.

Rāma illustrates the hightest ideal of Kālidāsa. He leads conjugal life in peace with Sītā free from passion and attachment. He restrains passion in his young age. He devotes his full time to the good of his people and never neglects their welfare. He puts all possible efforts for their peace and prosperity. He banishes his dear wife Sītā helplessly in her pregnancy. He surrenders his personal joys for the happiness of his subjects. Here love servitudes[33] to the society and does not defray. This is the greatest sacrifice of a human for the sake of others. But he sustains deep love for her. His eyes become besmeared with tears like the wintry moon covered with frost when he receives Sītā's message. On the sacred occasion of horse sacrifice, he refused to have a second wife by his side for the completion of the sacrifice. He puts a golden image of Sītā and fulfils the performance. He is now the singularly husband[34] of earth only. Sītā as a devoted wife suffers the worst. She always follows and cooperates with her husband. She suffers a lot in the forest but never leaves him in misfortune. At the return from the forest, mothers praise Sītā for her sacred resolute of chastity which has protected Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa from terrible danger. Being banished by her husband, she determines to practise very severe austerity in order to regain Rāma as her husband in her next birth free from separation.[35] Lakṣmaṇa treads the path of hard continence for a long period of fourteen years. So here love is not a ban to the interest of other.

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Agnivarṇa, a lewd king also described in this epic as a reckless debauchee, meets his end after excessive sensuality. He becomes a prey to lust and degradation. He leads a dissipated life and becomes exceedingly attached to dancing girls and maids of the harem and satisfices their sensual longings. He falls from high status of Kālidāsa. He ignores his people. Due to unrestraint enjoying, he gradually falls ill, Excessive pleasure ends his life. It leads to complete destruction. Thus, sensual and unmoderate love has been denounced by the poet. This is the lesson of Kālidāsa.

Thus, the Raghuvamsa presents the highest and ultimate purpose of love in perfection, as conceived by the poet. It depicts a conflict and beautiful harmony between a king and lover, duty and love, restraint and moderation. Duty apparently becomes victorious. It is the deepest inner love of Rāma for Sīta which actually triumphs. They always retain sweet mental harmony. The abandonment of pregnant Sītā by Rāma, is the greatest sacrifice of love at the altar of duty, so that love may reign the supremacy and enternity.

Thus, a purely elemental love of the Ṛtusaṃhāra attains completion in the Raghuvaṃśa. Kālidāsa treats various types of love and aims the perfection. Love should be free from passion. Renunciation is spirtual kingship. It is graceful freedom of love. Sex is mere lightening. The privacy of love is sacred. Complete dedication implise the exclusive possession on the favourite one. The true love is not pleasurable in union. It is heightened in separation. Therefore, Kālidāsa shows great interest in the VIPRALAMBHA. This separation scene is real success. The poet conceives more delight even in the destruction of lover's coil. Only that union gives real happiness in which two lovers are seen equally eager and ardent for each other. He excels in separation. He separates lovers in the midst of deep enjoyment. In the Vikramorvaśīya. it takes place on Mt. Gandhamādana where separation is unbearable and more painful. It occurs suddenly like a bolt from the blue. At this critical stage, when love was DŪRĀRŪḌHA, he separates Purūravas and Urvaśī to enhance the pang of bereavement. Now he expresses love in the most touching manner. The pleasing nature tarments lovers. In the Meghadūta the pleasant rains afflicts lovers. In the Abhijñānaśākuntala Duṣyanta suffers the pang of separation in the spring. Kālidāsa makes heroines surpass of troubles to gain perpetual love of their lovers. Their loving hearts are soft and tender like delicate flowers. It is sure that they will give up their life in separation but remain alive only in the hope of union in future. After purification of their hearts in TAPAS, they regain happy bliss of eternal union and their love is concluded in marriage life and happy hymeneal joy is blessed with a progeny. This is the noble concept of love as described by Kālidāsa in his works.

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Kālidāsa's delineation of Nature deepens the love. In union, Nature heightens joy and scorches lover's hearts bitterly in separation. The rhythm of night and day, changes of seasons suggests man's changing moods, variety of tastes and capriciousness. Characters have a sensitive appreciation of plants, creepers, blossoms, flowers, trees, rivers, hills etc. and have close relation with these objects. The poet sings highly of the sweet and happy harmony between human and Nature.

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The Vikram Vol. XIII, No 2 & 4

AN ANALYSIS OF CES-PRODUCTION FUNCTION FOR PRIMARY PRODUCTION AND MANUFACTURING IN INDIA (1951-65).†

by

DHANRAJ VEENA.

The purpose of this article is to explore the time series and cross-section studies in the Constant Elasticity of Substitution (CES) production function for primary production and manufacturing in India from 1951-65.

This article consists of three parts. Out of these three parts, Ist deals with the various theoretical aspects and approaches for understanding of what follows in third part. Part IInd is an account of econometric-regresion methods. and relative difficulties which arise in practice to evaluate the various implications for main purpose. And, the final results are presented in part III.

Since the publication of the CES-Production function by Arrow etc.[1] and the independent studies by Brown and De Cani group etc.[2], this function has been tested econometrically by a large number of studies.[3]

PART I.

A. Few Theoretical Considerations.

To understand the concept of this study, let us consider a few theoretical relations betwcen some key-Variables, e. g. it is study of production function with an account of technical changes or progress but at a specific point of a given level of fixed value of the elasticity of substitution and follwing functional relation between the profit share and the capital output ratio etc.; helpful to evaluate the favourable conclusions for final results.

The Share of Profit and the Capital Out-put Ratio.

The symmetric, linear-homogeneous CES function, as used by Arrow etc., is......

$$(1) \quad Y = y\left(\delta K^{-\varrho} \;\; (1-\delta) L^{-\varrho}\right)^{-1/\varrho}$$

here K = Capital; L = Labour.

Assuming perfect Competition, the profit share X is given by:—

$$(2) \quad x = \frac{\partial Y}{\partial K} \cdot \frac{K}{Y} = y^{-\varrho} \frac{1}{k^{\varrho}}; \; k = K/Y.$$

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It can be seen that the profit shared is a function of the capital output ratio. The characteristic shape of this function is determined by the parmeter ϱ. By the first and the second derivations :—

$$(3) \quad dx/dk = -\varrho \frac{y^{-\varrho\delta}}{k\varrho+1}$$

The various findings of the function $x = f(k)$ for different values of ϱ (respectively for $\sigma = 1/(1+\varrho)$ are such as :

ϱ	σ	dx/dk	d^2x / dk^2	Comments
$\infty > \varrho > 0$	$0 < \varrho < 1$	< 0	> 0	x is a monotonously decreasing function of k
0	1	0	0	x is independent of k
$0 > \varrho > -1$	$1 < \sigma > \infty$	> 0	< 0	x is a montonously increasing function of k

And except these findings, it also can be concluded that if x and k increase with time, then $1 < \sigma < \infty$ must hold. This result will be useful for our conclusions.

1:2 Harrod—Neutral Technical Progress :

For a study of CES production functlon through statistical techniques of times series; it is essential to allow the technical progress in Arrows production function.

Thus,

$$(4) \quad Y = F(K, L, t.); \qquad \partial Y/\partial t > 0$$

In this situation, Uzawa[4] shows the production function in following terms :—

$$(5) \quad Y = F, (K. L+) \quad \text{where } L^{+} = a(t)\, L.$$

Our calculations are based on a special type of technical progress : Harrod-neutral one with constant rate. Helmaster[5] shows the technical progress as exogeneous with a constant rate (W_T). And, if the growth rate of the production function is (W_a), Then :

$$(6) \quad W_a = W_T / 1-x, \quad \text{where } W_a = a/a$$
$$W_T = \text{Constant.}$$
$$x = \partial Y/\partial K.\ K/Y$$

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Regarding a production function with variable x, Harrod-neutral technical progress will be constant in the case of growth equilibrium, because x remains constant. The Technical progress effects labour in two ways. It directly augments the labour by W_T and indirectly raises the labour productivity by a continuing increase of capital labour ratio.

Allowing for this kind of Harrod-neutral technical progress we get the following CES production function.

$$(7) \quad Y_t = y \left\{ \delta K_t^{-\varrho} + (1-\delta) e^{-\varrho wt} L_t^{-\varrho} \right\}^{-1/\varrho}$$

where, $W = W_T/(1-x)$

Our conclusions are based on above cited equation (7).

1:3 Elasticity of Substitution and Technical Progress.

The technological elasticity of substitution σt :[6]

$$(8) \quad \sigma t = \frac{d\,(L/K)\;(L/K)}{d\,(r/l)\;\;(r/l)}$$

Where l = wage rate; r = interest rate, is a measure of the curvature of the isoquants.

The historical elasticity of substitution σh[7]

$$(9) \quad \sigma h = \frac{\Delta(L/K)/(L/K)}{\Delta\,(r/l)\;(r/l)}$$

is a measure which represents the relative changes of the labour capital intensity in relation to the relative changes of the interest wage rate ratio that took place historically.

The labour capital ratio of firm now changes, if there is a change in the interest wage ratio, but it also changes due to technical progress. Therefore, it can be seen that the historical elasticity of substitution alone does not allow one to calculate the technological elasticity of substituion. But there are some combinations between these elasticities and the kind of technical progress which are possible and others which are not possible.[8]

On the isoquant $x = c_1$ shows in Figure I it is at point A.

The technological elasticity of substitution σt at point A can be calculated by the neighbouring point C as follows :

$$L/K = tg\alpha_1 \qquad = AE/EO$$

$$d\,(L/K) \simeq tg\alpha_1 - tg\alpha_2 = AE/EO - FE/EO = AF/EO$$

$$r/l = tg\beta_1 \qquad = AE/ED$$

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$$d(r/l) \cong tg\beta_1 = AE/ED - GE/ED = AG/ED$$

$$\sigma t = \frac{d\,(L/K)\,(L/K)}{d\,(r/l)\,\,(r/l)} \approx \frac{(AF/EO)\,\,(AE/EO)}{(AF/EO)\,\,(AE/ED)}$$

$$= \frac{AF/AE}{AG/AE} = \frac{AF}{AG} .$$

By increased factor inputs (restricting to the imperically observed case of an increasing capital labour ratio it find a point B on $x = c_2$. At the point B and C, the capital labour ratio show the same value and if it consider a homogeneous production function for the interest wage ratio the same hold true. Therefore, it can compute the historical elasticity of such substitution between A and B with the point C instead of B. In other words, technological and historical elasticity of substitution are the same if there is no technical progress.

With technical progress the isoquant through point B has a higher production Index. Additionally the isoquant may be pivoted around the point K = L. In this case of slope of the tangent (= interest wage rate ratio) at B is different from that at point C. It can distinguish the following cases :

(i) The r/l-ratio has remained constant, i. e. progress was Hicks neutral. As it has been seen in the case of an increased factor input, the technological and the historical elasticity of substitution must be equal here again.

(ii) The r/l–ratio has increased, the technical progress was labour saving according to Hicks–definition. Now it can be found point G Higher than given in figure I, i. e. the historical elasticity of G falls above A and σh is negative.

(iii) The r/l–ratio has decreased, the technical progress was now capital saving according to Hicks' definition and point G will be lower than that given in Fig. I. So the historical elasticity of substitution will be lower than the technological one.

Now it is to analyse the possible combinations between Harrod neutral technical progress and the different kinds according to Hicks' definition. In Fig 2 the isoquant x = 1 will be shifted to $x^{+} = 1$ by Harrod Nuteral technical progress. In the case of x = 1 on the absissa we have capital stock as well as the capital output ratio.

The interest rate at point A is 1/OD.[9] The given Harrod-neutral technical progress the new point B must be vertically below the old production combination, namely A.

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Moreover the technical progress is :—

(i) Hicks-neutral, if the slope of the tangent at B & C is equal. Then we have : $\sigma t=1$.

(ii) Hicks labour-saving if the slope of the tangent at B is greater than that at C. Now a parellel to tangent at C through point D cuts the line AE below B. That is why the technological elasticity of substitution is smaller than one.

(iii) Hicks capital-saving, if the slope of the tangent at B is smaller than that at C. It follows that $\sigma t > 1$.

PART II

II Econometric Methods.

A production function is always part of a more complete economic model, for example of a static micro-economic model of profit–maximization or cost-minimization or of a dynamic macro-economic model of growth. We do not want to discuss these models here. We would just point out that the exogenious varibles of the production function, i. e. capital and labour, often are endogenious within the frame of the complete model. This means that single equation-econometric methods are baised[10].

In this paper we have used only single equation methods due to following reasons :—

On the one hand there is lacking some time series needed for a complete model. For example, it can be possible to calculate the interest rate only by Euler's theorem. On the other hand estimation methods developed for ecnometric system in general are based too, but they have the large sample property of the consistency. These large sample properties are 'cold comfort'[11]

When there are only short time series, as in the case of this study.

II. 1. Ordinary Least Squares.

Given a multplicative error term:

$$(10)\quad Yt = y\left(\sigma K_t^{-\varrho} + (1-\delta)\, e^{-\varrho wt}\, Lt^{-\varrho}\right) - \tfrac{1}{\varrho}\, ut.$$

$$\text{where : } E\,(\text{In ut}) = O$$

$$E\,(\text{In Ut Ln Ut}+s) = \begin{cases} O \text{ for } s \neq O \\ \sigma_u^2 \text{ for } S = O, \end{cases}$$

We have to minimise the error sums of squares S;

$$(11)\quad S = \left[\sum_t \text{In } 1/t - \text{Iny} + 1/\varrho \text{ In} \left(\varrho Kt^{-\varrho} + (1-\delta)^{\varrho-\delta wt} L-\varrho\right)\right]^2$$

$$\text{Min !}$$

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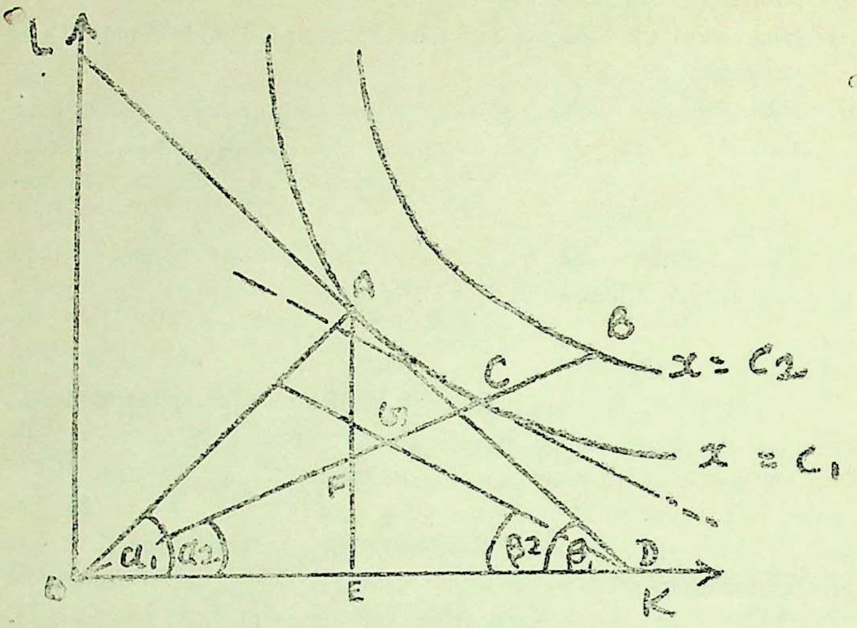

Figure 1

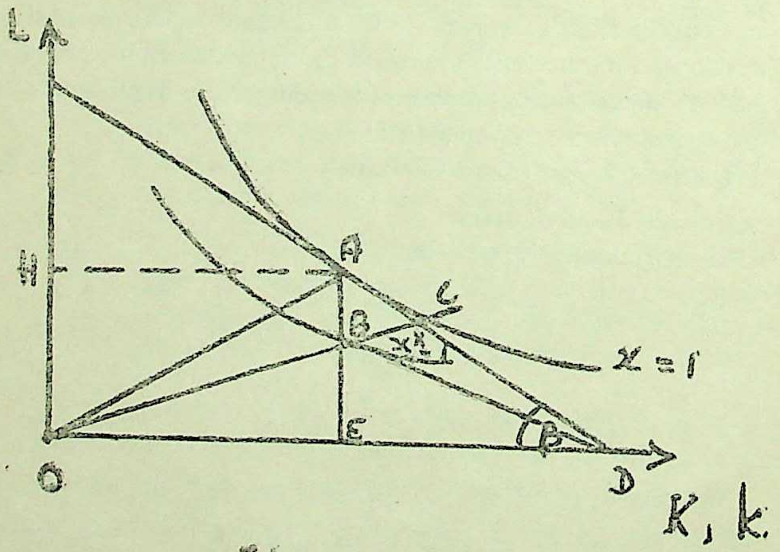

Figure-2

Analysis of C E S. Production function for primary production and Manufacting in India (1951–65)

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The resulting normal equations are non-linear in the unkown parameters. So ordinary least-squares are not applicable directly. There remain the following methods to be considered.

(A) Side Relations :

There is variety of side relations containing the unknown parameters, which lead to linear normal equations[12]. To demonstrate this method, it can be chosed the ration which used by Arrow etc. Assuming that the factors are paid their marginal product, it can possible to get the wage rate, rt

(12) $1t = \partial Yt/\partial Lt = (1-\sigma)e^{-\varrho wty - \varrho}(Yt/Lt)\ \varrho + 1$ and the interest rate rt.

$$rt = \partial Yt/\partial Kt = \varrho y^{-\varrho}\ (Yt/Kt)\ \varrho + 1.$$

After a logrithemic transformation we get a linear relation, which can be handled by least squares.

Referring to equation (12) we see that only the parametres δ and W can be calculated from the regression coefficients; Y & δ are not identifed. Therefore, this first step has to be followed by two others. 13/

From the ratio of the interest rate to be wage rate we can calculate.

$$(14) \quad \frac{\delta}{1-\delta} = e - \varrho wt \frac{rt}{1t} \left(\frac{Lt}{Kt}\right)^{-(\varrho+1)}$$

Taking the known parameters, ϱ; w & ϱ, we get the remaining one y from equation (10) by calculating the following mean:

$$(15) \quad Y = \overline{Y} / \overline{X}$$

$$\overline{Y} = 1/T \sum_{t=1}^{T} Y_t$$

$$\overline{X} = 1/T \sum_{t=1}^{T} \left\{ \hat{\delta} K_t^{-\hat{\delta}} + (1-\hat{\delta})(e^{wt}\ Lt) - \hat{\delta} \right\} - 1/\hat{\varrho}.$$

B. Parametere Variation :

The CES function can be linearized by taking both side the power of $-\varrho$

$$(16) \quad Yt^{-\varrho} = aKt^{-\varrho} + \beta \left(e^{wt}\ Lt\right)^{-\varrho}$$

$$\text{where; } a = y^{-\varrho\delta};\ \beta = y^{-\varrho}\ (1-\delta).$$

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To avoid multicollinearity it is better to take the following form.

$$\left(\frac{Yt}{e^{wt}\,Lt}\right)^{-\varrho} = \beta + a\left(\frac{Kt}{\varrho^{wt}\,Lt}\right)^{-\varrho}$$

This equation can be fitted by least squares for given & w, which are to be varied systematically within certain limits. Measures of the equality of each fit are the correlation coefficient and the standard errors of the regression coefficient Regarding these measures the best fit can be chosen; the corresponding parameters are "best estimates".

C. Kmenta's Method.

Taking the CES function in logarithemic form :

$$(18) \quad \ln Yt = \ln Y - 1/\varrho \ln \left\{ \delta K_t^{-\varrho} + (1-\delta)^{-\varrho wt} Lt^{-\varrho} \right\}$$

We can write the last term as a function of S;

$$(19) \quad F(\varrho) = \ln \left\{ \delta K_t^{-\varrho} + (1-\delta)\, e^{-\varrho wt}\, Lt^{-\varrho} \right\}$$

This function is expanded by a Taylor-series about $\varrho = 0$ and all terms beyond this third one are transacted. After some rearrangements we get from above cited equation. (18)

$$(20) \quad \ln Yt - \ln Lt - wt = \ln y + \delta\,(\ln Kt - wt - \ln Lt)$$
$$- \; 1/2\, \varrho\delta\, (1-\delta)\, (\ln Kt - wt - \ln Lt)^2.$$

Using least squares we get the unknown parameters from above cited equation (20) only for predetermined value of w. So we have to follow the same steps as outlined under (b) : inserting alternative values for w and choosing the "best" regression.

Before discussing a further regression method we want to point out some difficulties appearing in the use of the methods just described. In all cases we experienced the following problems; the estimated parameters were economically senseless (i. e. $\varrho < -1$); the regression coefficient were not significantly different from zero (for a 95% confidence intervel) and we did not find the best solution, because different parameter combinations gave us equally good solutions with respect to statistcal criteria. Assuming that the fundamental economic assumptions of our model (i.e. a production function of homogenity of digree one, perfect competition, equilibrium situations) hold true and our ignorgance of a simultaneous equation system is without influence, there remains a variety of causes, which could explain the above results. Amoung these we want to stress two, which in our opinion are the most important. Our samples are too small (1951-65) to allow an estima-

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tion of four parameters which are combined in a complicated manner. This may be due to the underlying time series; most of which showed a marked positive trend during the time of obsarvation.

II. 2. Marqurarurадt's Method.

Seeing that the results of the methods just described were economically senseless, it tried to estimate the parametres directly from equation (7). This non-linear equation can be handled by the different methods. We confined ourselves to Marquaradt's algorithm[14], which "performs an optimum inter-polation between the Taylor series method and the gradient method...". Starting from some initial values of the unknown parametcred the minimum of the error sum of squares is reached interatively.

If the function of the error sum of squares S :

$$21. \quad S = S(y, \delta, \varrho, w)$$

has local minima, then the solution is dependent on the initial values of the parameteres, because this methods leads to the next minimum in the direction of the steepest desent. To reach the total minimum it is necessaary to start not very far from this solution.

In our case we have varied all parameters systematically to the narrow the possiblex range of the solution. For each of such initial parameter, combined we calculated the value of S. Then we chose the parameter-combination that lead to the minimum of S as starting point of the Marquaradt algorithm.

But this procedure was not succesful; we found a very high positive or negetive correlation between the parameters. Again, as in the case of ordinary least squares we see that the parameters are not separable statistically, the estimates are more or less random values.

The only possible way of getting meaningful values for the parameter of main interest, namely ϱ, is by predeterming the remaining parameters. The difficulty now is to find economic meaningful value of parameters, w, δ and y.

Abandoning the hypothesis of a constant w, we calculate the technical progress as a residual factor.

$$22. \quad WTt = WYt - \lambda t \; WLt - xtWKt.$$

From equation (22) we got wat = WTt/ λ t, where λ t is the wage share. But it is much more difficult to find meaningful values for δ & y. These values, being constants representing the production structure may be different from one industry to another industry. Having ex ante no exact idea about these values, we did our calculation with different combinations of and y[15].

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σ. The combination, giving the highest correlation coefficint, was our solution. The results of this estimation procedure are found in the following part.

PART. III

Empirical Results.

In table (1), the results of regression achieved by the Marquardt algorithm. The second row gives the number of the Industry, to which are refer in table (2), the 7th row gives the correlation coefficient (R). again it find that :

$$\sigma = 1/(1+\varrho)$$

The table 1 shows that the Marquardt algorithm gives very good results. The standard errors of the parameters are very small and the correlation coeifficient are very high. But the results are not content with this statistical judgement alone. Besides that we want to define an interval for σ with the help of the theoretical considerations presented at the beggning of this study. This interval will then be compared with the empirical value of σ from table (1). Therefore, it examined the relations between the capital output and the historical elasticity of substitution in the presence of Harrod-neutral technical progress an increasing capital labour ratio.

The theoritically determined interval ofthe technological elasticity of substitution (σt) is found in table (2). The historical elasticity of substitution (σh) is a mean over all years.

The idea behind table (2) demonstrated for industry (1). The capital out put ratio is increasing our time, the profit share too, increases later. Such as opposite development since 1961 would indicate that either k & x are independent, i.e. $\sigma t=1$, or that the value of greater than one to a value Smaller than one. But the capital output ratio is a trend value. Therefore, parallel development of k & x for the years 1961–65 is probable too. An oppsite development of k & x however, is not probable because in this case k must have been decreasing from 1951–60, most certainly preventing a positive time trend for k. We summarize regarding the development of the capital out put ratio and of the profit share maybe :

$$1 < \sigma t < \infty$$

With an increasing wage interest ratio the capital labour ratio is increasing too. Technical progress may have no influence upon this tendency (Hicks-neutral) it may intensify (Hicks-Labour-savings) this thendency for $\sigma t=1$ technical progress assured as Harrod-neutral must be neutral according to Hicks definition too, i. e, it must be $\sigma t = \sigma h = 1$. In the case of $1 < \sigma t < \infty$ Harrod neutral technical progress can be capital-saving according to Hicks' definition, i. e. $\sigma h < \sigma t$, and so $\sigma t > 1.0734$.

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In the capital output ratio and the profit share do not prossess a time-trend the considerations concerning σt are limited to theHypothesis of Harrod-neutral technical progress and the empirical values of the historical elasticity of substituion. Industry (3) for exmple, it has σ h = 0.3229. Technical progress cannot be Hicks-neuteral, because in this case σh = 1. So the technical progress can only be either capital saving (σ t > 1, σ h < σ t) or labour-saving (σ t < 1, σ h > σ t) according to Hicks definition. It follows that σt cannot lie in the interval 0.3229–1

Row (6) of the table (2) shows a comparison of the theoretical and the empirical values for σt. It has analysed whether the empirical value of σt falls within the internal deduced theoretically. Herein—

(1) **Consistent** means the empirical value lies in the theoretical interval.

(2) **Almost Consistent.** Where there is a theoretical interval contaning only low (high) values of σ t, then the empirical value will also be low (high), but falls outside the interval.

(3) **Overestimated.** The empirical value is much higher than the upper bound of the interval.

(4) **Underestimated.** The empirical value is much smaller than the lower bound of the interval.

Adding up to count "consistent" 16 times and almost consistent 5 times. Only in four industries do the values differ to a large extent. So it can justly say that in most cases the estimates are good approximations of the underlying elasticity of substitution.

Analyzing the cases of "almost consistent", it sees that σwas overestimated, whenever σ< 1 was expected; for expected σ>1 this value was under-estimated considering this result. It can determine the direction of the baises of the regression. For σ< 1 the values are overestimated whlie for > σ 1 they are under-estimated.

TABLE No. 1

Results of an interative least square estimation by the Marrquaradt Algorithm.

$$\ln Yt = \ln y - \frac{1}{\varrho} \ln \left[\delta K_t^{-\varrho} + (1-\delta)\, e^{-\varrho w t}\, Lt^{-\varrho} \right] + \ln ut$$

Sr. No.	Name of Industry	γ	δ	ϱ	σ	R
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Coal Mining	1.8	0.2	−0.0732 (0.0024)	1.0789	0 9972
2.	Metal	2.5	0.6	0 9530 (0.0155)	0.5115	0 9900

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Sr. No.	Name of Industry	γ	δ	ϱ	σ	R
3.	Non Metalic Minerals	1.8	0.2	– 0.4695 (0.0008)	1.8850	0.9999
4.	Petroleum	0.5	0.8	0.1719 (0.0094)	0.8533	0.9992
5.	Stone and Clay	1.0	0.8	0.6167 (0.0212)	0.6185	0.9929
6.	Iron and Steel	2.5	4.2	0.4983 (0 0014)	0.6674	0.9999
7.	Chemiclas	1.0	0.6	0.2325 (0.0051)	0.8113	0.9997
8.	Paper	1.8	0.8	0.4993 (0.0031)	1.9972	0.9994
9.	Machinery	1.8	0 8	1.6859 (0.0071)	0.3723	0 9988
10.	Transport Equipment	1.0	0.8	0.4912 (0.0223)	0 6706	0.9996
11.	Electrical Machinery	1.8	0 4	0 6889 (0.0683)	0.5921	0.9982
12.	Glass	1.8	0 6	0.9141 (0.0407)	0.5224	0.9899
13.	Furniture and Fixtures	1.0	0.8	0.2924 (0.0137)	1.4132	0.9999
14.	Instruments	2.5	0.8	0.8718 (2.1798)	0.5342	0.9584
15.	Plastics	1.8	0.4	18.4770 (29.0913)	0.0513	0.9876
16.	Leather Products	2.5	0.4	2.7315 (0.9992)	0.2697	1.0000
17.	Textiles	1.0	0.6	0.0820 (0.0017)	1.0893	1.0000
18.	Oil Mills	1.8	0.6	0.1650 (0.0016)	0.8583	0.9993
19.	Sugar	1.8	0.8	0.4894 (0.0023)	0.6711	0.9983
20.	Mining	1.8	0.4	0.1793 (0.0017)	0.8479	0.9089
21.	Primary Production & Durable manufactures	1.8	0.2	0.6656 (0.0017)	2.9904	0.9999
22.	Investment Goods	1.8	0.4	0.3983 (0.0072)	1.6619	0.9999

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Sr. No.	Name of Industry	γ	δ	ϱ	σ	R
23.	Manufacturing Industry	1.0	0.6	-0.6719 (0.0144)	3.0478	0.9993
24.	Durable Consumption	1.0	0.8	00.641 (0.0131)	0.9559	0.9958
25.	Total Industry	1.8	0.2	0.8928 (0.0017)	9.3283	1.0000

Theoretical Interval for the Technical elasticity of Substitution σt.

TABLE No. 2

Sr. No. of Industry	k	x	σh	σt	Comparison of the theoretical and empirical th.
1.	Increasing	Increasing	1.0734	$\sigma t > 1.0734$	Constant
2.	Increasing	Increasing	-0 6369	$\sigma t > 1$	Underestimated
3.	Constant	Constant	0.32299	$\sigma t + <$ 0.3;1 $< \sigma t$	Consistent
4.	Decreasing	Increasing	-0.6410	$0 < \sigma t < 1$	Consistent
5.	Increasing	Decreasing	0 5258	$\sigma t < 0.5259$	Almost Consistent
6.	Increasing	Decreasing	-4.1734	$0 < \sigma t < 1$	Consistent
7.	Decreasing	Oscillating	-0.4514	$0 < \sigma t < 1$	Consistent
8.	Decreasing	Decreasing	0.4698	$\sigma t > 1$	Consistent
9.	Increasing	Decreasing	0.2060	$\sigma t < 0.2060$	Almost Consistent
10.	Decreasing	Increasing	-5.9829	$0 > \sigma t < 1$	Consistent
11.	Decreasing	Decreasing	0.5911	$\sigma t > 1$	Under estimated
12.	Decreasing	Decreasing	0 6577	$\sigma t > 1$	Under estimated
13	Decreasing	Decreasing	0.3757	$\sigma t > 1$	Consistent
14.	Increasing	Decreasing	0.6846	$\sigma t < 0.6846$	Consistent
15.	Decreasing	Increasing	0.5931	$\sigma t < 0.5931$	Consistent
16.	Increasing	Decreasing	0.5612	$\sigma t < 0.5612$	Consistent
17.	Decreasing	Decreasing	0.6045	$\sigma t > 1$	Consistent
18.	Increasing	Decreasing	0.1814	$\sigma t < 0.1814$	Overestimated
19.	Increasing	Decreasing	0.5076	$\sigma t < 0.5076$	Almost Consistent
20.	Increasing	Increasing	1.1405	$\sigma t > 1.1405$	Almost Consistent
21.	Decreasing	Decreasing	0.8723	$\sigma t > 1$	Consistent
22.	Decreasing	Decreasing	0.3516	$\sigma t > 1$	Consistent
23.	Decreasing	Decreasing	0.5418	$\sigma t > 1$	Consistent
24.	Decreasing	Decreasing	0.8254	$\sigma t > 1$	Almost Consistent
25.	Decreasing	Decreasing	1.1462	$\sigma t > 1.1462$	Consistent

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The Vikram, Vol. XIII, No. 2 & 4.

KUMĀRADĀSA'S JĀNAKĪHARANAM

by

DR V. VARADACHARI*

The anthologies mention, in connection with the citations, some poets naming them as Kumara, Kumaradatta, Kumarabhatta, Nathakumara and Bhattakumara.[1] It is doubtful that all these refer to the same poet Kumaradasa. The historians identify Kumaradasa with King Kumara Dhatusena who ruled over Ceylon during 515-524 A. D.[2] This identification cannot be maintained In the light of the account of Kumara Dhatusena contained in the Mahavansa.[3] It is not also proper to admit the theory which makes Kalidasa a friend of Kumaradasa.[4] It is however clear that Kumaradasa was an admirer of Kalidasa's writings whose influence on his language and treatment of matter is quite evident. Kumaradasa must have been quite familier with the city of Kāñcī.[5]

The MS. of the Janakiharana, which is available in the Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Mss. Library, Tirupati, contains at the end of the poem four slokas describing the poet and his ancestry. The authorship of these is not yet determined. Kumaramani of respectable intentions was an intelligent poet of great respect. He was ever devoted to good attainments and had profound self control. He had attraction for those who were foremost by the display of their weapons. He was in good company owing to his association with the courageous. He was of good. policies and had good leaders. He was the father of this poet who had enjoyed kingship of Lanka. The Maternal uncle of this poet was Sri Megha who had no equal and was of high dignity. He rejected or dismissed the other (inimical) ministers and so was honoured and respected by the people. His subordinates were always virtous and did not get tarnished by the enemies. The army of the enemies, which marched against him, got brightened and beheld him paralysed by dread. Agrabodhi was another maternal uncle of the poet. He was wealthy and gave refuge to people who got affected by calamities. In form, he was like the graceful Jayanta who brightens heaven. His father took part in battles that brought forth for him spotless fame, and had a benign kingship whose commands were respected by the people. The two uncles took care of this poet whose mother passed away on the very day of his birth and whose father, pleased at his birth, was killed the same day by the enemies. They carried him through the ailments. They had unaffected self-control in his affairs due to affection and were proud and nourished him day by day as not different from their own children. With the help of these two uncles, the poet composed the poem of superb sense on the story of the enemy of the demons. Perhaps to justify the way in which the poem

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was composed, there in the word atisayabhutasya in the colophon at the end of each canto in the printed text.

From the account given above, it is learnt that the poet's father was warrior and a poet and that the poet lost his parents soon after his birth and that he was brought up by his two maternal uncles. It is said that he wrote this poem with the help of his two uncles. It is not clear as to what made him take their help, if he had the gift for poetry. He could have been blind as Rajasekhara refers to him.[6]

Regarding his date, A. B. Keith is of opinion that he knew the Kasikairtti (C. A. D. 650).[7] This seems to be wrong, as Panini notes the use of such expressions like vitusta.[8] The Kasikairtti gives only the meaning of this form but did not find the meaning for it. Vamana's rule[9] on the use of Khalu and iva at the beginning of a quarter applies to Magha[10] and Kumaradasa[11] respectively. These show that Kumaradasa could have lived before 800 A. D.

There are however evidences to place Kumaradasa in the 6th century A. D. The Janasrayi, a work on prosody, cites, for illustrations, slokas from the Janakiharana[12] and Kiratarjuniya[13]. This work was written by one Gunasvamin probably for his patron janasraya Madhavavarman after whose title it was named. This king performed a number of sacrifices[14] and belonged to the Visnukundin dynasty. The period of this king's rule was 553–593 A. D.[15] The Janakiharana and Kiratarjuniya must have been then popular and considered fit for citations. Bharavi, the author of the Kiratarjuniya, was a friend of Kubja Visnuvardhana[16] and settled at Kanci under the patronage of the Pallava King Simha Visnu (575–600 A.D.) This date is confirmed on the strength of the Aihole inscription dated 634 A.D. The Visnukundin dynasty was superseded in 611 A.D. by Pulikesin II[17]. The works of Kumaradasa and Bharavi must have been wellknown in the court of Madhavavarman even before 593 A. D. Again, there is close similarity between the works of Kumaradasa and Bharavi in two respects. One is in a stanza composed with a single consonant 'n' conveying the same meaning.[18] The other is in the employment of the sabdalanikaras in both these works for the description of battles.[19] The question of priority of one over the other cannot be settled easily.[20] Kumaradasa shall therefore be taken to have lived about 550 A. D.

The text of the Janakiharana was believed till recently to be incomplete in its printed form, being a word for word Sanskrit rendering of a Sinhalese original complete in 25 cantos.[20] The MS[21] of the Madras Library which is based on a Kerala MS., is complete in 20 cantos. The MS[22] which belongs to the Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Research Institute Library, Tirupati and which is a copy of the Madras Library MS

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contains the sloka क्षुत्क्षामोऽपि which is also found in the Nitisataka[23] of Bhartrihari. This does not however affect the date of Kumaradasa stated above.

The Janakiharana is a Mahakavya of the classical type with the features laid down by the rhetoricians.[24] In twenty cantos, it covers the story of Rama as contained in the Bala and succeeding five Kandas of Valmiki's Ramayana.

Though following the epic of Valmiki for the treatment of the theme, Kumaradasa introduces certain new topics for heightening the artistic effect of the poem. Some of them are :-(1) Description of Kausalya,[25] (2) Description of Sita[26] as viewed by Rama who saw her while offering homage to Visvamitra in the latter's camp in the outskirts of Mithila, so as to depict the rise of love among the lovers, (3) the spring season[27] is described providing an occasion for Dasaratha's indulgence in sports in water in the company of his queens. (4) Dasaratha's advice[28] to Rama on the latter's following Visvamitra to the forest on the ideals of a Ksatriya. (5) Janaka instructs[29] Sita while she was leaving for Ayodhya, on the good behaviour of a house-wife. (6) Visvamitra's sacrifice[30] is described in detail revealing the poet's acquaintance with ritualistic performances. (7) The city of Mithila[31] is described followed by the minute observation of the marriage celebration[32] of Sita (8) Dasaratha's discourse to Rama on the disadvantages[33] of his continuing as the king in his advanced old age.

In the ideal of a classical Mahakavya the author describes the tall mansions of Ayodhya as having white silken flags[34], jewelled arches which cause hardship to abhisarikas[35] and deep moats.[36] The tall towers of Mithila[37] with the oozing moonstones afford a halting place for the horses of the moon which are fatigued on their march. This idea is an ingenious one, as the moon is not known to ride in a chariot drawn by steeds. The jewelled steps[38] in the tanks dispel darkness giving relief to the Cakravakas.

Alongwith these prosperous cities is described a desolate city, which was prosperous at one time on account of the washing of Indra.[39] It became desolate at the time of Rama's following Visvamitra. The snakes clinging to the heads of the female images there resemble their braid of separation from the rulers of that city.[40] The eyes of an idol are covered with the spider's web and show, as it were, that the idol is bewailing apprehending dangers.[41] The root a tree shooting forth from the chest of a female image indicates the broken-heartedness of it on account of grief.[42]

The ocean receives twice a realistic portrayal. The first instance is in connection with the building of the bridge across the sea. The hills which

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thrown into the sea made a deafening noise.[43] Some of them were tossed up by the tails of the whales.[44] It is again described during Rama's return to Ayodhya from Lanka.[45]

With the moon setting on one side and the sun rising on the other, the Rsyamuka hills present the sight of an elephant with two bells one on each side.[46] The streams, issuing out of the caves appear like the moon beams taken by these hills during the night to be free from the heat of the sun during the day.[47] The Malyavan mountain gets, a similar description.[48]

The poet's powers of observation are revealed in the portrayal of the beauties of the seasons. At the on set of the spring, having wandered in the south, the sun turns to the north spreading forth its rays, like a sacrificial priest proceeding, to the abode of a donor stretching forth his hand for a gift.[49] The blossomed campaka flowers stood like the lights in the trees which became the lamp stands for them.[50] During the rainy season, the Kandala flower, which became then blossomed, laughed at the traveller who had left his beloved in the house to suffer from separation.[51] Golden hued lightings flashed forth resembling the rays of the sun and looked, as it were, the lustrous bodies devoured by the clouds and issuing forth breaking open their belly.[52] The pure waters of the rivers were taken by the clouds which, on account of the weight of them, became fatigued and so perched on the slopes of the mountains.[53] The clouds dark and huge like elephants were moving fast across the sky and the showers from them seemed to be drops of sweat flowing from their fatigued frames.[54] During autumn, the fierce winds had ceased to blow. The water in the tank became still and clear. The stars were rejected in the water. The tanks thus appeared like a portion of the sky fallen down into the tank together with the showers.[55] The lotuses begin to blossom. The lotus which was the first to blossom appeared as though sent by other lotuses to see if the clouds which had disturbed them had gone or out or not.[56]

Nature's beauty receives a fine treatment while describing sunset and moon's rise.[57] The sun, while setting collects all the rays and becomes weighty. Therefore it sinks in the ocean.[58] The moon is red while rising and this is on account of her contact with the quarter belonging to Indra. As she rises up, she gets separated from that quarter and becomes thus griefstricken, growing pale.[59] At the rise of the moon, the ladies in separation become grieved and so grow dark. The complexion is reflected in the moon which is a mirror. The reflection is seen to be dark in the form of the deer.[60] The sun falls down because the day which was lending support to it had passed. The moon's disc rises then showing that the two are well-balanced.[61]

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The author describes the sports[62] of kings and queens in pleasure-ponds where the water was kept to the level of the thighs of the women.[63] The love-sports of the newly wedded pair[64] and of those who lead the married life[65] are well depicted.

Kausalya's beauty is depicted with much poetic fancy and the treatment bears the influence of that of Parvati in the Kumarasambhava. Her shanks were so naturally charming that the gait of the elephant or swan cannot be treated as the upamana for her gait.[66] Her eyes differed from the lotuses. Her eyes tolerated the presence of the moon at the rise of which the lotuses close their petals.[67] Rama fancies that the eyes of the female deer were first created and then the blue lotuses were produced. The experience thus gained enabled the creator in providing Sita with a pair of eyes.[68] The cuckoo became eclipsed in its voice by the sweet voice of Sita and as a result, it became constantly grief stricken and so became black in colour.[69]

The lover's mind[70] is well portrayed in the case of Sita who, while leaving the camp of Visvamitra, turned behind under the pretext of talking to her friends who accompanied her and had a look at Rama.[71] When Sita was beyond the sight of Rama, she felt that no useful purpose was to be served by her possessing the eyes. As it to prove this, tears filled her eyes preventing them from seeing anything.[72] Sita's frame became reduced on account of her separation from Rama. The bangle which had taken her hand dropped down from there with the feeling that Sita transferred her love from it to some one and so cannot remain there any longer.[73] Affected by the feeling of separation, Sita reflected to herself thus :—'Am I seeing Rama who is not present in me simply imagining him to be here ? or, is he, though present in me, away from me on account of my sins ?' [74]

The description[75] of the marriage of Sita and Rama has a realistic touch when the servants are shown to be moving about quickly in the marriage hall asking in a loud voice 'please get the fried grain, water, darbha'.[76] The servants were running to find out from the water clock,[77] the exact time for the marriage[78]. The worship of Indra and saci was performed at first in the routine of celebrations.[79]

Natural curiosity prompted the women of Ayodhya to hasten to the doors and windows of their residences to have a look at Rama and Sita as they passed through the streets of the city while returning from the Mithila after marriage.[80] The women did not take the permission of the elders for this purpose. For that, they were not unchaste nor were they deluded.[81] Modesty did not permit them hail the prince. So they blessed Sita for a long and prosperous married life.[82]

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6. The return journey[83] of Rama from Lanka is graphically described. Among others, the following places are described by Rama as he beholds them from the air :—The river Tamraparni[84] the river called Daksinatya Ganga[85], Rewa[86], Devagiri[87], Yamuna[88], Ganga[89] and Himalayas[90]. Seen from above, men who were moving on earth had to be behold with difficulty and thus looked like insects.[91] The city of Lanka, which was situated on a hill, appeared like an ant-hill and the streams flowing from that hill resembled serpents.[92]

Kumaradasa shows a special liking for battle scenes which find a clever and original handling in the poem. In Visvamitra's hermitage, the demons who came for the desecration of the sacred rites, marched on through the sky and the ground with elephants and horses in their army.[93] The elephants fell down with their necks cut off by Rama's arrows and killed the demons who were crushed beneath them.[94] While throwing a sword at the enemy, a demon was struck by Rama's arrows. He fell down with the face turned upwards. Though lifeless, he seemed to be haughty and so unwilling to turn his back in the battle.[95] There are graphic descriptions of the riders on the horses being pinned to their seats and so not falling down though killed.[96]

In his fight with Ravana, Jatayus whirled round and round the demon and created a halo around him [97] Though fell down, it rose up like a ball.[98] When Ravana cut off its wings, its body fell down, the tears of the celestial beings and the showers of flowers from heaven also fell down at the same time.[99] The battle at Lanka is described in three cantos.[100] The child of Indrajit was admonished by its mother when it asked its father where he was going, as he was starting for the battle field. This had an adverse affect on him and the author remarks that at times the child utters the truth.[101] The missiles of Rama snatched away the lives of the enemies simply in order that the name of Rama inscribed there shall not be made red with the blood of the demons.[102] Rama's arrow pierced through the vitals of the king of demons and fell into the nether regions, because it wanted to hide itself out of fear that it had killed the lord of the three worlds.[103]

The plight of the people in Lanka which was set fire to by Hanuman is well depicted in describing a woman as keeping her child in the lap and kissing it deriving much pleasure without the feeling of pain caused by the engulfing flames of fire.[104] Another women who was holding her child in the lap arose to go away from that place on seeing the flames but was consumed by them at once.[105]

The hermit boy, who was struck by Dasaratha with an arrow, told him of his poor life.[106] He was wearing the rough tree bark, living on

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the cold and hot sap of the wild trees and taking the unpalatable food prepared out of the wild products. In stead of sympathising with his lot, it is a pity that the king chose him to become a victim for his arrow.[107] Equally pathetic is the boy's asking the king to choose any of his belongings which consisted of an old jar whose holes were struck up with the resin of the trees, a triple string of girdle of munja grass and a dress made of the bark of trees The king shall feel then that he had attained the desired object.[108]

The abodes of the penance doers and their activities receive a good treatment in this poem. The peacocks dance to the singing of the Samaveda in the Siddhasrama where Visvamitra performed a sacrifice.[109] Sympathetic consideration for the distressed is rejected in the attempts of the hermit boys there to build small cages and keep them beneath the trees so that the young ones of the birds that might fall down from above shall find themselves there and remain un-hurt.[110] Stony troughs were kept filled with water for the wandering cattle.[111] Since the time when Visnu performed penance[112] there for obtaining victory over Bali, that place became theresort for the wild beasts,[113] like the leopards which behaved calmly as the black spots on their bodies were being coumbed by the children there.[114] The lion and the frog, get scorched by the sun's heat and take shelter respectively under the elephant having the flow of rut and the expanded hoot of the snake.[115]

The description[116] of the sacrifice which was performed by Visvamitra abounds in the use of the technical terms of ritualistic significance such as samidheni,[117] hautra[118] purvdasa called ieta,[119] diksaniya[120] vasatkara,[121] pravargya,[122] vitaravedi,[123] vapa,[124] hasirdhana,[125] Camasa,[126] and others, showing the author's familiarity with the specific uses of them. Visnu appeared before the sage and received arghya,[127] The reciters of the Samaveda showed the differences between the svaras by fixing them in their fingers.[128] The sage gave gifts on the occasion in such abundance that was not heard of at any time or place.[129]

Didactic in content and political in significance are the instructions which Dasaratha gave to Rama who was about to follow Visvamitra to the forest.[130] A certain man supports all the worlds. Another feeds his own family with efforts, while some one is able to feed his body alone. Yet another cannot even feed himself.[131] A ruler shall attach importance to the capacity of the man mentioned first. Thereby he shall get wealth which will come to him of its own accord. On the contrary, he who is interested in his own self falls down.[133] The arms of man are intended to elevate the friends and prevent the rise of the enemies.[134] The mouth is intended for attering words of safety to those who need it and not for consuming food.[135] The unsteady pleasures, which man hankers after,

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are had even by the beasts and men shall not attach any monopolistic attitude towards them.[136]

Of similar import is the advice which Janake offered to Sita when she was leaving for Ayodhya after her marriage.[137] Women became exalted through the favour of their husbands and not by merely possessing a beautiful figure, qualities, noble descent or full blown youth.[138] They do not contribute to the elevation of men. On the contrary men are the cause for their happy and prosperious life. The cloud rumbles even when there is no lightning but the flash of lightning does not occur without the cloud.[139] When aroused to anger, women shall not use harsh expressions to their husbands Silence is then a forceful weapon to reprove the husband.[140] The husband who appreciates virtuous conduct could be controlled by the good behaviour of his wife. A bad woman who loses all her virtues is slighted by him.[141] Sita is asked by her father to behave in such a manner that his heart shall not break.[142]

Dasaratha's portrayal of the infirmities[143] of old age which hold man back from doing his duties is clear and is the result of his personal experience. He advices Rama to be alert in his duties, as he is to succeed him to the throne. Even a cowherd knows that the stick is essential to tend cattle. The kings shall take a hint from this for their work.[144] Three defects defile the career of a Ksatriya, namely, to be free from ambition for conquest when he could make effective use of his weapons, to in different to expenses for sacrificial purposes when he has enough wealth and to be sensuous in his advanced years.[145]

Angada's mission serves a double purpose of conveying to Ravana that Rama is invincible and advising him without showing him any offence A man gets respect from the world for his valour, even though he is devoid of virtues If he has both valour and virtues, the entire would become submissive to him.[146] Sugriva had attraction for Ravana's virtues.[147] There are people who offer advices under the pretext of proclaiming their own greatness.[148] One should be cautious in receiving such advices. There are persons who incite quarrels even when prevented but keep away from the battlefield when the need arises.[149] There may be only five or six persons who go to the forefront of the battle, pusshing aside those who are bearing the full brunt of the battle.[150] He is the warrior who does his work here without waiting to have the experience of the results in the next birth, realising that youthfulness is fickle, the body is perishable and wealth is unsheady by its nature.[151] Even the passionate thought about a woman who is not his wife would affects man's credit here and hereafter. A man like Ravana who is great like Siva, shall strive to acquire everlasting merit.[152]

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Besides these, even the minor matters and incidents are found treated with considerable originality. Kaikeyi, who got married to Dasaratha, is given due credit, as her wicked disposition became the cause for the removal of terror arising from the demons.[153] To the question of Rama as to what made her subjected to the curse, Ahalya had her head hung down in shame and said only the words 'Formerly Indra', suggesting thereby her want of modesty while she was young.[154] The peacock is described to have been aroused from sleep by the sound of the drum. It then perches on the rod with its one leg, stretching the other to its full length on account of bearing the tail. On beholding the rising sun, it shakes off the snowy particles from the feathers and gets up.[155]

The artistic effect of the poem is heightened by a clever use of his Sastraic knowledge by Kumaradasa. Conventional meaning is more powerful than the etymological one.[156] The poem contains references to the general[157] and Esoteric.[158] Doctrines of Buddhism, the Samkhya concepts of the three gunas[159] and Satkaryavada,[160] promanyavada,[161] supreme validity of sabda[162] Siddhasadhana as a defect in reasoning[163] and general principle [164] of philosophy.

Kumaradasa suggests hls concept of poetry through the undesirable features which ought not to find room in a good poem. In a worthless poem, the meaning of the verses lies concealed. Either a syllable may be wanting or a syllable may be in excess in a quarter which becomes the verse thus uneven. The roots which are not in general use in the world would be employed. The particles such as tu, hi na and others would be found used to a greater extent.[165] It is said that the person who walks on the Himalayan grounds will find his feet to be in full contact with the ground. By way of comparison, the author says that the indeclinables bear no purpose in a composition yielding good sense composed by the clear minded persons. They can only be used for completing the verse.[166] A poem shall be therefore be free from these defects. In another context,[167] the author describes the fight between Lakshmana and Indrajit as difficult to be looked at by the timid fellows. It had no equal on account of the circular modes of fighting and was terrifying by the sarvatobhadra, a kind of formation of the army. The author compares this to a poetic composition which is hard to be understood by the untrained on acccount of cakrabandha[168] and bewildering through. Sarvatobhadra.[169] Kumaradasa expresses himself in favour of fiinding room for sabdacitra in poems.

The language of Kumardasa lacks the grace and polish of Kalidasa's poems and in a way bears comparison to that of Bharavi. In conveying any idea, whether descriptive or narrative Kumaradasa chooses to be eleborate and exhaustive and in this respect he is a contrast to Kalidasa and Bharavi. In poetic fancy and original conceptions of subject

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matter, he is indeed second to none. He acheieved this distinction through the effective use of the figures like Utppreska,[170] Atisayokti[171] and Upama.[172] With equal facility, he handles sahokti,[173] Sandeha,[174] Kavyalinga,[175] Artha-Patti,[176] Dipaka,[177] Vyatireka,[178] and Nidarsana.[179] The sabdalamkaras in all possible varieties, one used by him in canto XVIII, the Yamakas taking up the whole of Canto XVII.

Kumardasa does not parade his stall in the use of metres. Like Kalidasa, he employs upajati, Puspitagra and Sardulavikridta. Among the less known which are made use of by him, are Viyogini,[180] Rathoddhata,[181] Dodhaka,[182] Sivagata,[183] and Pramitaksara,[184] Nardataka[185] which is very rare, is handled with by him rather at the end of the canto.

Kumaradasa displays his close acquaintance with the intricate rules of grammer and many words whose formation is sanctioned by the less known rules of Panini occur throughout the Janakihrana. Passive constructions[186] and casual aorist forms[187] are of frequent occurrence. The following deserve mention among the words noted for their formation on the strength of the rare rules of Panini-sasahi[188] able to bear much, sayika,[189] repose, adyasva[190] likely to happen today or tommorrow sankharatrika,[191] as king whether the night was spent well, Klamatha[192] weariness, mrtsna excellent clay; anruptrima[194] unsown, vitustyan[195] combing ones matted hair, asutivala,[196] one who performs a sacrifice at the full and change of moon, masabdika[197] one who says 'don't make noise'; ayassulikata[198] voilent proceeding; iksusakata[199] abounding in the fields of sugarcanes and pratikasamghata[200] gathering of Brahminical sages and ministerial officers. Certain words are not in use and are found generally in the lexicons. They are :—tutu[201] rat; undura rat,[202] uddehika,[203] white ant; sthapatya[204] chamberlain; kalatra[205] hips and loins; nisara,[206] curtain; ambukita,[207] pronounced indistinctly and lekhaisavha[208] an epithet of the Buddha.

The predicative form asa[209] is used frequently by the author in the sense of 'ivas'. The word visrama[210] which is defective according to Paninni, is also used and in the use of these words, the author either followed Kalidasa or was following a particular tradition which encouraged usages like these. Vamana's condemnation[211] of the use of iva at the beginning of the pada has a reference to the passage in the Janakiharana.

Rajasekhara is said have offered his appreciation of the Janakiharana in the following sloka :—

जानकी हरणं कर्तु रघुवंशे स्थिते सति ।
कविः कुमारदासश्च रावणश्च यदि क्षमः ।।

With pun of the words Janakiharana and raghuvasma, this means that when the Raghu's line was there, Ravana had the power to Kidnap

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Sita and when the Raghuvamsa of Kalidasa is available, Kumardasa alone can write on the same theme in his Janakiharana. This appreciation is justified at first through the descriptions and narrations. These have the same pattern sometimes in the order of the treatment given to the matter and at others in the expressions. The hunting expedition.[213] of Dasaratha, and the approach[214] of the gods in distress made by them to a supremedeity for relief deserve mention here. Secondly there are minor incidents[215] which suggest the influence of Kalidasa on Kumardasa. Thirdly, either the expressions[216] occuring in identical contexts one the same or the ideas[217] are the same pointing to the same conclusion.

From the poem, it is not possible to say whether Kumardasa was a Hindu or a Buddhist. The absence of the benedictory stanza at the beginning and of any reference to any deity at the end or in the four slokas which refer to the author does not give any clue. Any reference to the deity as Visnu[218] or Siva[219] within the poem must be taken in the context literally and it is not proper to take it as an evidence to the personal leanings of the poet. The expressions. नमः सर्वज्ञाय, नमो रत्नत्रयाय, नमो नमोऽर्हते and नमः श्री वनाय which are found at the beginning of the MSS.[220] and printed text of the Janakiharana do not go to declare that the author was a Buddhist. They rather find their presence their justified becaused the author was a poet or ruler of Ceylon which has been the place for the preaching of Buddhism since the days of Asoka. The MSS were kept secure in Ceylon and hence these expressions. At the same time, Kumardasa does not speak of Buddhism disparagingly. The two references[221] to Buddhism speak of the author's esteem for the principles of Buddhism. There are however two references[222] to Kumardasa's having regard for the Vedantic tradition He speaks of the need to follow the teachings of Isavasya upanisad to get over worldly bondage and of the Agama as the only pramana. The title Kumardasa may however be taken, until the contrary is proved, to refer to the author as a devotee of Skanda and so a follower of Saiwism.

References

1. Jalhana's suktimuktavali mentions the slokas on pp 207, 242, 279, 303, 311, 378, as those of Natha Kumara. which are not traceable to the poem Janakiharana. The sadukti karunamitra (844) and subhasitavali (1654) as also the suktimuktavali (4-76) mention his name as Kumardasa, See also S. K. De. History of Sanskrit Literature p. 185.
2. S. K. De. History of Sanskrit Literature P. 185.
3. M. Krishnamachari : Classical Sanskrit Literature PP. 134-135.
4. Vide:—Seshgiri Sastri Report on MSS. II, 20.-where the samasya purana is given as :—

   कमलेन कमलोत्पत्तिः श्रूयतेन तु दृश्यते ।
   बाले तवै मुखाम्भोजे दृष्टमिन्दीवरद्वयम् ॥

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5. Jankiharana I 18
6. यतो मेधाविरूद्र कुमारदासादयो जात्यन्धाः कवयः श्रूयन्ते Kavyamimamsa P. 12. The introductory verse 16 which has only the word चक्षुःक्षति in it the rest having been lost and found in Dandin's Avantisundari cannot be taken to be a sure reference to Kumaradasa.
7. A. B. Keith : History of Sanskrit Literature PP. 119, 123
8. Astadhyayi III. 1. 21.
9. न पादादौ खल्वादयः Kavyalamkara sutravrtti V. 1. 5
10. Sisupalavadha II. 70
11. Janakiharana X 72
12. Janasrayi PP. 24 (I. 37), 23 (I. 30)
13. ibid P. 9 (XII. 1.)
14. The opening stanza refers to the tite of the king and clontains the quarter मखेरुरुभिरुद्ध्रुतैर्मधवतो जयश्रीरपि ।
15. K. Gopalachari : Early History of the Andhra Country P. 208
16. Avantisundari P. 10
17. R. Satyanatha Iyer; History of India Vol. I P. 256
18. Jankiharana XVIII 131, kiratarjuniya XV 14
19. The source fort his pratise is not Known Kalidasa employs yamaka in the Raghuvansa canto IX 1-54 for the discription of the spring season and Dasarathas preparation for hunt.
20. The Ms. of the poem discovered in Ceylon which Kumaradasa ruled may suggest a period when Ceylon and Kanci had political contracts on the strength of a reference to Kanci in poem (I 18). This period shall be when Kanci was a famous city and this may be the middle of the 6th century A. D. When both the writer could have florished as contemporaries.
20. b. A.B. Keith classical Sanskrit Literature(Heritage of India series) P. 50
21. Madras Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, R. No. 2935
22. MS. No. 7532
23. Nitisataka 21, similarly sloka 17 in Act. II of the Mudraraksasa is found to be sloka 43 of Bhartrhari's Nitisataka which was composed by Ratisena according to Vallabhadeva's Subhasitavali sl.614
24. Kavyadarsa I 15-19
25. Janakiharana I 27-41 of Kumarasanbhava I 31-49
26. ibid. VII 1-34
27. Janakiharana Canto III
28. ibid IV 30-47
29. ibid IX 3-9
30. ibid V 25-36 (MS)
31. ibid VI 18-30
32. ibid VII 37-62
33. ibid X 5-41

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34. ibid I 4
35. ibid I 3, 11
36. ibid I 5
37. ibid VI 22
38. ibid VI 28
39. Janakiharana IV 53 the city was situated in the provinces called Malada and Karusa vide :—Ramayana Balakanda canto XXIV
40. ibid. IV54
41. ibid. IV56
42. ibid. IV57—the description of this city reminds us of the appearance of Ayodya as depicted by its presiding deity to Kusa–Vide :—Raghuvansa XVI 9–23.
43. ibid. XIV 9
44. ibid. XIV 55
45. ibid. XX 20-34. This bears the influence of Kalidasa's description of the ocean in the Raghuvansa XIII 1-17.
46. ibid. XII 64. Magha appears to have been indebted to this poet for a same description in the Sisupalavadha IV 20.
47. Janakiharana XII 65
48. ibid XIII 7–15
49. ibid III 2
50. ibid III 3
51. ibid XI 47
52. ibid XI 55
53. ibid XI 56 of Ramayana–Kiskindha XXVIII–22.
54. ibid XI 72
55. ibid XII 8
56. Janakiharana XXII 20 of ibid. XVI 9.
57. ibid VIII 59–42
58. ibid VIII 61
59. ibid VIII 75
60. ibid VIII 88
61. ibid XVI 11
62. ibid III 14-61
63. ibid III 34. of Raghuvasa XVI 46
64. ibid VIII 1–54
65. ibid XVI 31-82
66. ibid I 28
67. ibid I 39
68. ibid VII 14
69. ibid VII 17
70. ibid VII 19–34

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71. ibid VII 21 of Abhijianasakuntalam II 12.
72. ibid VII 24
73. ibid VII 25
74. ibid VII 28
75. Jankiharana VII 27·62 which bears the influence of a similar description in canto VII of the Raghuvamsa and canto VII of the Kumarasambhava.
76. ibid VII 40
77. This is called yamaghati, a contrivance made of a vessel with a small hole at the bottom. It is placed on the surface of water kept in a broader vessel. The speedy rise of water into the vessel at a fixed rate is indicative of the time which is to be noted by certain marks in the vessel to be reached by the level of water.
78. ibid VII 41.
79. ibid VII 47. Vide :—Taittriyasamhita I. 7-13
80. ibid IX 52 64 bean Kalidas influence Vide :— Raghuvamsa VII 5–11 and Kumarsambhava VII 56–62.
81. ibid IX 52 This is perhaps a rejoinder to Asvaghosa Vide :- Buddhacarita III 13.
82. ibid IX 64
83. ibid canto XX
84. Jankiharana XX 36
85. ibid XX 42
86. ibid XX 48 which is said to rise from Narasimhagiri
87. ibid XX 52 where is situated a temple of Siva, but Kalidas refers to it as having the shrine of skanda. Vide :— Meghaduta–Purva bhaga 43
88. ibid XX 54
89. ibid XX 57
90. ibid XX 59-63. The author betrays his lack of understanding the geographical situations. Mount Kailas or Himalyas do not lie on the the way to Ayodhya from the south. For similar defective situations see Muraris Anrgharaghava VII 46 Kailasa, 98 Pancevati. 100 Godavari, Kundina (in Maharastra) and 104 Bhimesvara (in Andhra) 107 Kanci, 109 Ujjain and 122 Varanasi see also Rajasekhara's Balaramayana X 33 Kailasa, 43 Setu, 60 Agastya's hermitage, 72 Kaveri 74· Maharastra and 89 Ujjain such a poor understanding is not to befound in Kalidasa whom all these poets imitated.
91. ibid XX 12
92, ibid XX 16
93. ibid V 25
94. ibid V 29
95. ibid V 49
96. ibid V 38, 39, 48

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97. Janakiharana XI 6

98. ibid XI 12

99. ibid XI 20

100. ibid cantos XVII-XIX

101. ibid XVIII 37

102. ibid XVIII 87

103. ibid XIX 62

104. ibid XIII 78

105. ibid XIII 79 For a detailed description, see ibid XIII 65-84

106. ibid I 79 The author mentions the name of the arrow as vitapa ibid I 75

107. ibid I 80

108. Janakiharan I 81

109. ibid V 1

110. ibid V 8

111. ibid V 13

112. ibid V 21 of Ramayana-Balkhanda canto XXIX

113. ibid V 22

114. ibid V 23 of. जृम्भस्व सिंह दन्तांस्ते गणयिष्यामि This is uttered by Sarvadamana in the Sakuntala Act VII

115. ibid V 24, A desolate hermitage of Gautama VI 10–14

116. ibid V 12–40 (MS)

117. Name of a Rgvedic hymn recited while kindling the sacred fire.

118. This means the function of the hotr.

119. It is only a food, prepared as a cake and offered between pravasgya and anuyaga.

120 This is a sacrifice of consecration or initiation.

121. This is the exclamation 'vausat' to be made by the hotr at the end of the sacrifice.

122. This is the name of a sacrifice which is to be performed as a preliminary to the soma sacrifice.

123. This the name given to the nothern altar made for the sacred fire.

124. This is the name of the skin investing the intestines of the animal.

125. This is receptacle where the oblation is kept.

126. Name of the vessel used for drinking soma.

127. Jankiharana V 21 (MS)

128. ibid V 29 (MS)

129. ibid V 35 (MS) other descriptions are Ravana's lifting up Kailasa II 40–48

130. ibid IV 33–47

131. ibid IV 33

132. Jankiharana IV 34

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133. ibid IV 35
134. ibid IV 36
135. ibid IV 41
136. ibid IV 44
137. ibid IX 3-9
138. ibid IX 4
139. ibid IX 5
140. ibid IX 6 of Sakuntalam IV 20
141. ibid IX 7
142. ibid IX 8 of अशोच्या हि पितुः कन्या सद्भर्तृ प्रतिपादिता Kumarasambhava VI 79
143. Jankiharana X 4-41
144. ibid X 31
145. ibid X 9
146. ibid XV 8
147. ibid XV 9
148. ibid XV 12
149. ibid XV 13
150. ibid XV 14
151. Jankiharana XV 20
152. ibid XV 23
153. ibid I 42
154. ibid VI 14, 15
155. ibid III 80, See Harsacarita III Slokas 5 and 6 for an equally exquisite description.
156. ibid XVIII 121
157. ibid XIII 29
158. ibid V 55
159. ibid V 27
160. ibid II 9
161. ibid I 74
162. ibid XIX 81
163. ibid XIX 23
164. ibid XIII 42
165. Janakiharana I 89
166. ibid XX 63
167. ibid XVIII 104
168. ibid XVIII 145, 146, See ibid XVIII 39, 42, 46 and 50
For cakrabamdha and Mallinatha on the Sisupalavadha XIX 1 20 for the formation of this.
169. ibid XVIII 29 and see Mallinatha on the Sisupalavadha XIX 27 for its formation. Vide ibid XVIII 72 for a reference to the actor.
170. Janakiharana II 26, III 9, VIII 61

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171.	ibid		XII	20, XVI 9
172.	ibid		III	3, XII 78, XIII 85, 86
173.	ibid		VI	41. XI 63
174.	ibid		VII	16, 27 53
175.	ibid		IX	26
176.	ibid		X	40
177.	ibid		XI	20
178.	ibid		I	37, 39
179.	ibid		XII	64
180.	ibid	canto	IV	
181.	ibid	canto	VIII	
182.	ibid		XII	55
183.	ibid		XII	57, canto XV
184.	ibid		XII	63, 65, 67, 69, 71
185.	ibid		IV	70, 71, 72, VIII 100, 101, IX 68
186.	Janakiharana		I	21
187.	ibid		IV	5 XV, I
188.	ibid		II	18
189.	ibid		II	72 Panini III.3 108
190.	ibid		IV	5
191.	ibid		IV	9 Panani IV. 4. 1 of Raghuvamsa 61
192.	ibid		IV	51
193.	ibid		V	9 Panini V. 4.40
194.	ibid		V	13 ibid III. 3. 88
195.	ibid		V	21 ibid III. 1. 21
196.	ibid		VI	33 ibid V. 2-112
197.	ibid		VII	45 ibid IV. 4. 1
198.	ibid		X	24 ibid V. 2. 6.
199.	ibid		X	52 ibid V. 2. 9.
200.	ibid		X	57 ibid III. 2. 49
201,	Janakiharana		IV	55
202.	ibid		IV	11
203.	ibid		VI	11
204.	ibid		VI	35
205.	ibid		VII	20 of Kiratarjuniya VIII 9, 17
206.	ibid		IX	45
207,	ibid		X	17
208.	ibid		VI	19 (MS) of Budhacarita VII 8
209.	ibid		VI	43, VIII 43. Vamanas defence of this

as derived from Vas, to go, to shine to take etc. does not appear to be convincing. Vide :— Kavyalamkarasutra ritti V. 2. 27 In all probability, the form of the root Vas to be in the perfect tense become obselete even before Panini who had to frame the rule asterbhuh (II.4.52) However asa is retained in the periphrashe constructions like ganayamasa. Perhaps asa was allowed to be used in the perfeet tense in schools other than Panini's Kumaradasa,

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like Kalidasa, might have preferred to stick to that tradition. See Kumarasambhava I 35 for a similar use. Note the news of Sakatayana and Vallabha on the use of this form which are cited by Mallinatha ibid.

210. Janakiharana I 63 word which is formed from the visram with the preposition visshal be visrama according to Panini VII 3. 34-4 and so is defective. See Meghaduta 1 26 where there is the same usage. Mallinatha defends the use by citing विश्रामोव: of Candra Vyakarana commentary on ibid.

211. Kavyalamkarasutraurtti V. I. V. This may refer to the Janakiharana X 72. However, this need not be accepted, for Vamana cites Kumarsambhava I 35 under V. 2.27 for illustration, while he does not refer to any passage under V.1.5.

212. The sloka given above is cited by Jalhana in his Suktimuktavali, attributing its authorship to Rajasekhara Vide :—Suktimuktavali 4. 76. This is not found in Rajasekhar Kavayamimamsa.

213. Raghuvamsa IX 54–78 Janakiharana I 45–74

214. Kumarsambhava II Jankiharana II 19-73 The plight of skanda (28) candi (29) Ganesa (30) and Garuda (31)

215. Raghuvamsa V 65-66, ibid III 76, 77 Parvati's description in the Kumarsambhava I 32-48, Jankiharan I 28-41

216.

Raghuvamsa	I	74	Jankiharana	IX	73
ibid	X	1,	ibid	X	1
ibid	XII	1,	ibid	X	3
ibid	XII	34,	ibid	X	72
ibid	XIII	6	ibid	XX	26
ibid	XIII	11	ibid	XX	29
ibid	XIV	16	ibid	XX	74
Kumarasambhava	I	48,	ibid	I	41

217. of. Janakihraana VIII 42 and Kumarasambhava VII 22

218. Canto II of the Janakiharana

219. Janakiharana XX 52

220. G. R. Nandargikar : critical notes PP. 2,3 and 4 to his edition of the Janakiharana.

221. Janakiharana V 5 XIII 39

222. ibid XIII 42, XIX 81

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The Vikram, Vol. XIII, No. 2 & 4.

THE SARASVATI

by

MOHD. ISMAIL KHAN,*

In the past vedic-period, the Ganga is regarded to be a very pious and mighty river. Specially in the Puranas, it is highly extolled. According to an age-old legend handed down from generation to generation, it is held to have been brought to the earth by the Sagar. Consequently, after the name of Bhagirath, it came to be known as Bhagirathi. Since it has come from the heaven, it commands greater reverance and love that it is called 'Mother Ganga'. But in the vedic times, it was a river of trivial nature, while the saraswati was a most celebarated river. In the Nadi-Sukta of the Rgveda, the Ganga is mentioned only twice or thrice, while the Saraswati is enlogised profusely.[1] There are complete two Suktas for it.[2] Besides, its references are found in a scattered form over the whole range of the Rgvedic texts. A mantra celebrates it as the best of mothers, best of rivers and best of goddesses.[3]

This river originated from the mountain and ran to the occean.[4] It was most mighty, impetuous and had infathomable depth. Its terrific nature generated fears in the hearts of the people. Consequently, it is implored not to frighten, the dwellers.[5] In the vedic period, both the Ganga and the Yamuna were small rivers and had to go to a short course to reach the sea, called Gangetie Sea,[6] which, at the time, was stretched over the plain of the Ganga and Yamvna of today. Unlike today, both the Ganga and Yamuna did not flow into the Bay of Bengal. The Saraswati, too, outfringed from the mountain.[7]

In the vedic period, whole Rajputana was a bed of sea, called Rajputana sea and the Sarsawati had to fall into it.[8] From the above, we come to know that there were two seas—one in the east and the other in the west.[9] and were, ofcourse, interlinked from the south. Owing to their being interlinked, the whole north was completely cut off from the south.

From the time immemorial, in the general belief of the people, it is held that at Prayag, there is the conference of the Ganga, Yumuna are seen embracing each other and, therefore, one should accept their confluence only, Thus, there is a problem to reconcile this controversy in a cogent manner. According to certain Sastras, it is maintained that once the Saraswati was virtually meeting the two rivers at Prayag, but at the advent of the Kaliyuga or being afraid of the contact of Nisadas, it disappeared. Now, it flows underground and meets the two rivers at Prayag

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apparently without being noticed. But on the basis of modern Geological investigations and some other evidences based on geography, Hirtory, Archaeological excavations and the like, the above idea is rendered to be a sort of superstition.

Some modern scholars prove the confluence of the three rivers in a different manner. Dr. D. N. Wadia holds that in the remote age, the Saraswati was apparently in the west of the Ganga. With the passage of time, when there started a gradual upheaval of the earth, the Saraswati started moving towards the east and at the end, it merged into the Ganga. It then received the name of the Yamuna. This view is also of no avail, because Dr. Wadia shows at Prayag, the confluence of the two rivers only, and has, thus, made the problem in question more tangible.

The viewpoint of Shri Dinaprasad Das Gupta is also worth noticing. On the basis of the Indo-Brahma river propounded by Parcoe.[10] Mr. Gupta ventures to trace a very long route of the vedic Saraswati. According to him, this river originated from the hills of Assam and flowed into the Arabian Sea. At the primeval stage, there stood a high land between the chotanagpur Plateau of Bihar and Khasi Hill of Assam. The Saraswati was apparently to the the north of this high-land, while on the opposite side, were Meghana, Brahmaputra, Bhagirathi etc. Owing to a river-capture, these rivers turned backward, captured the Saraswati and the modern Bramhaputra diverted waters of the Saraswati (Upper part) into its own course. Similarly the Bhagirathi captured the Ganga and the latter caputred Yamuna, Gandaka, Gomati, Rapti etc., and diverted their waters into its own course.[11]

The lower part of the Saraswati, flowed along the upper courses of the Satadru, Yamuna and Ghagger. A river capture was done by the Yamuna, which diverted waters of the Vedic Saraswati into its own course.[12] In this way, Mr. Gupta has shown the confluence of the three rivers at prayag. This theory is untenable, because the Vedic Saraswati never got originated from the hills of Assam. Today almost all scholars agree on the fact that the Vedic Saraswati outfringed from the Shiwalik ranges.[13]

Dr. N. N. Godbole holds that a river of frevolous importance, called Saraswati joined the Ganga and Yamuna at Prayag and it is possible that it might have been misunderstood to be the Vedic Saraswati by the people.[14]

In the Raghuvansa, Kalidasa shows the meeting together of the Ganga and Yamuna at Prayag.[15] In the Meghduta, the same poet shows the Saraswati flowing from the west to north and eastwards. Kalidasa's

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Yaksa which entrusting the cloud with a message for his beloved, instructs it to go through Kanakhal, where it would be meeting the Saraswati to sanctity.[16] On the basis of various grounds, it is decided that the Saraswati once originated from the Shiwalik ranges and merged into the Rajputana Sea. To the south of this sea, were the Aravalli ranges, the height of which was about four miles.[17] The Sea of Rajputana was extended upto the south and east of the Aravalli ranges, which was once the highest mountaln of the Indian Peninsula It seems true that its decomposition to all directions irrespective of the Rajputana Sea and Eastern Sea. And as a result rivers falling into the Rajputana Sea would have diverted their way to south and west and rivers falling into the Eastern Sea would have become more easterly.[18] In the Puranas, the Saraswati is said to be 'prace'[19] and 'pascimabhimukhi' These attributes evidently show the above said change in its course from east to west.

Today, we are very much inclined to find out the fate of the Saraswati. It has lost its terrestrial existence, but its remnants are still discernible, on the basis of which it can be located. In literature, for its disappearance, there is the use of 'Vinasana' 'Vinasava' is the name of a locality, where the river lost its existence. It is in patiala district.[21] Its disappearance has also been connected with the Plaks Prasravana. The Tandyabrahmana, specities the distantance between Vinasana and Plaksa Prasravana. According to The Plaksa, Prasravana is at the distance of forty four asvinas from Vinasana one asvina being the distance traversed by a horse constantly moving one complete day and night.[22] Asvina, too, is not unanimousely accepted to be of a specific length of measurement, for it is taken to be of different measures, i. e. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 12 Yojaunas even.[23] The Plaksa Prasravana is a place on the Himayalas, where from the Sarasvati took its birth. In such an embarrassing situation, it is not tangible to ascertain the factual distance between the the two places mentioned above.

Modern investigations brush the doubt aside and let us believe that the modern Sarsuti was once virtually the old Vedic Saraswati. In this regard, an on the spot survey done by Sir Aurel Stein is of Capital importance. The river now called Ghaggar or Hakra has been identified with the Saraswati, standing as an old Vedic Saraswati in the popular belief.[24] The Vedic Saraswati has retained old name by the modern Sarsuti, which flows near Pehoa or modern Prthudaka, 14 miles away from the west of Thanesar.[25] Though at present, it has shrunk back and dwindled sufficiently, yet it is taken to be a very big river at a time. At present, the river is not always perennial, and in the most part of the year, its bed remains dried up, Especially in the rainy season, it overflows and inundates a large area on its sides, because its bed is raised up considerably. It is held that at Hanumangarh, it joins Ghaggar-now as Ghaggar-Canal, an old remnant

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of a river, which also originates from the same Shiwalik ranges, when the Sarsuti joins the Ghaggar, it losses its previous name and is known as Sarsuti-Ghaggar or Ghaggar alone. But when only the name Ghaggar is applied, it purports both the Sarsuti and the Ghaggar. The Single stream goes ahead under the name of Ghaggar through Patiala district, Hisar Bikaner, Bhawalpur and traversing a quite good journey, it enters the area of Pakistan bearing the name of Hakra. This Hakra is the tail -end of the Ghaggar, which remains empty for the most part of the year-from November to June.[26] This tail-end should not be taken to mean an intermediary to engulf the Saraswati (Ghaggar) to Indus. It is, in fact, the Eastern Nara, through which the Saraswati reached the Rann of Cutch.[27] At present, the Eastern Nara, which is the tail-end of the Saraswati or the Ghaggar, has taken the shape of the Sukkar barrage project[28].

In the Mahabharata, Sarasvata has been taken to be the son of Sarasvati. There, at one place, Sarasvati is held to be a mother and the the Sarasvati a personified river. It has been said that three occurred a severe drought lasting for a period of twelve years and resulting in a famine. On account of this the people lost all the sources so line upon Brahmanas could not devote themselves to the Vedic studies for want of food. Consequently, the entire vedic knowledge was lost. Only Sarasvata could retain it. for his mother saved his life feeding him upon fish. When the drought was over, it was he, who taught the Vedas to the Brahamanas.[29]

The Puranas tell us that there lived an ancient sect of Hindus called Sarasvatas. They were in the western country by the side of the Sarasvati river. The people of the sect are supposed to be, Brahmanas. The area they lived in, was also called Sarasvata nation, after their name. They were called Sarasvatas evidently because of their continuous inhabitance along the Sarasvati river.[30] On account of benefit, they got from the river and their reverence for it, they regarded it as their own mother. The sanctity and divinity attached to the river influenced their life and many of them rose as seers. (sris).

Sarasvata, the son of Sarasvati seems to be the ancestor of Sarasvatas, the people living in the Sarasvata nation. These people are still found in a greater number in the Western part of the country. The drought mentioned above appears to point to a climatic change and to the extinction of waters of the Sarasvati river, i. e., the disappearance of the Sarasvati as mentioned earlier.

In a Rgvedic mantra, the Sarasvati is said to nourish the five tribes,[31] in which the Kurus, the Purus and the Bharatas are chief. Among them, the Kurus were related to Kurukshetra[32] and the Purus had their relationship with the Kurus on the basis of inter-tribe marriage[33]. The

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Bharatas were the arduous devotee of Bharati, a goddess having her affinity to the Sarasvati river. Owing to their being devotee to Bharati that they were called Bharatas[34]. These tribes belonged to west India, especially to Eastern Punjab and Southern Rajasthan On this basis, too, one can unhesitatingly say that in the ancient times, the Vedic Sarasvati flowed through their regions and made them flourishing.

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2. Ibid., VII. 95. 1-6, 96. 1-6
3. Ibid. II. 41. 16
4. Ibid., VII 95. 2
5. Ibid., VI 61-14
6. A. C. Das, Rgvedic India (Calcutta, 1927) p. 8
7. Ct Yasapala Tandana, A concordance of Purana contents (Hisiarpura, 1952), p. 52
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12. Ibid., p, 536 & 537
13. Cf. D. N. Wadia, op. cit., p. 10, N. N. Godbole, Rigvedic Sarasvati (Rajasthan, 1963). p, 17
14. Ibid., p. 20
15. Raghuvansa, XIII 54-58
16. Meghaduta, I. 52-54
17. N. N. Godbole, op. cit., p. 6

   'A brief description of Aravalli Ranges. At one time, they had assumed great height about four miles and were even taller than the Himalayas our youngest of mountains today.'
18. Ibid., p. 2

   'It is also suggested that the decomposition products of the aravalli rocks once four miles high must have spread in all directions, which is responsible for driving the Yamuna and Ganga streams east wards and the other streams of the Punjab, India and Sarasvati Towards the west.
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27. Ibid p 21
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सातवाहन राजवंश

डॉ. सूर्यनारायण व्यास*

आंध्र नरेशों की पुराणों में दो प्रकार की वंशावली मिलती है—(१) वह जिसमें प्रत्येक राजा के राज्य-काल के राज्य-वर्ष भी दिए हैं। ऐसी वंशावली मत्स्य पुराण, ब्राह्मांड पुराण और वायु पुराण तथा इसी वर्ग के पुराणों में है; (२) दूसरी प्रकार की सूची वह है जिसमें राजाओं के नाम मात्र दिए हैं और अंत में सबका राज्य-काल समष्टि रूप से एक जगह लिख दिया है। इस प्रकार की सूची भागवत पुराण, विष्णु पुराण आदि में दी है। इन वंशावलियों में राजाओं के नाम भी कुछ छोड़ दिए गए हैं। फिर भी ये उपलब्ध सूचियाँ शुद्ध नहीं हैं। अनेक स्थानों पर राजाओं के नाम अशुद्ध लिखे हैं। प्रायः प्रत्येक नाम में कुछ न कुछ पाठांतर मिलता है। उनके राज्य-काल के वर्षों में भी अंतर है और सबसे अधिक दोष उनमें यह है कि राजाओं का क्रम भी दूषित है। इस सूची के तैयार करने में हमने हिंदी विश्वकोष में प्रकाशित मत्स्य पुराण ब्रह्मांड पुराण, भागवत और विष्णु पुराण की सूचियों को सामने रखा है। इनके अतिरिक्त एक सूची विश्वकोष के संकलनकर्ता ने ऐसी भी दी जो सिक्के, शिलालेख आदि सामग्री के आधार पर पुराणों की सूची को शुद्ध करके तैयार की गई है। इस सूची में राजाओं के राज्य-काल के वर्षों को गणना करके ईश्वी सन् के साथ लिखा है। किंतु हम इस गणना से बिल्कुल सहमत नहीं हैं, जैसा कि आगे विदित होगा।

इन पाँच सूचियों के अतिरिक्त छठी सूची भी पार्जिटर महोदय की है जो उन्होंने पुराणोक्त कलि-राजवंशावली नामक ग्रंथ में प्रकाशित की है। इसमें भी प्रत्येक राजा का राज्य-काल दिया है। ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से यह अधिक उपयोगी है और इसी के आधार पर एक सूची विंसेंट स्मिथ की 'अर्ली हिस्ट्री ऑव इंडिया' के सन् १९२४ के संस्करण में पृष्ठ २३१ पर दी हुई है।

प्रकाशन-क्रम की दृष्टि से सबसे नवीन सातवीं सूची वह है जो श्री वेणीप्रसाद शुक्ल ने अपने लेख "शक संवत्" (नागरीप्रचारिणी पत्रिका भाग १६, संवत् १९९२) में प्रकाशित कराई है। इन अंतिम तीन सूचियों के विद्वान् निर्माताओं ने उपलब्ध पुरातत्त्व सम्बंधी ऐतिहासिक सामग्री का उपयोग अवश्य किया होगा, किंतु फिर भी इनमें से कोई भी सूची न तो पूर्ण है और न निर्दोष, जैसा कि आगे दिए हुए हेतुओं से विदित होगा। हमारी सूची इस प्रकार है—

१. सिसुक (मत्स्य०); सिंधुक (वायु० ब्रह्मा०); सिमुक (वेणी०); शूद्रक (ब्रह्मा०-वेणी०); शिप्रक (विष्णु० विश्व०); छिस्मक (ब्रह्मा० विश्व०); शिमुक (मत्स्य०

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1. The Purana text of the Dynasties of the Kali age.

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विश्व०); राज्यकाल २३ वर्ष। सभी पुराणों में इसका नाम किसी न किसी रूप में पाया अवश्य जाता है, और सर्वत्र इसका राज्यकाल २३ वर्ष लिखा है।

पुराणों के अनुसार कण्ववंशी मगध-नरेश सुशर्मा को मारकर यह सिंहासन पर बैठा था। किंतु पुराणों का यह कथन ठीक नहीं है, क्योंकि इसके कई उत्तराधिकारियों का उल्लेख कण्ववंशी राजाओं से पूर्व शिलालेख आदि में पाया जाता है।

नानाघाट के शिलालेख में आंध्र वंश के इस प्रतिष्ठाता का नाम 'सिमुक' दिया है। वही लिपि-प्रमाद से सिसुक हो गया होगा। आंध्रों का उल्लेख अशोक के शिलालेखों में भी पाया जाता है, किंतु उसमें किसी राजा का नाम नहीं लिखा है, प्रत्युत एक जनपद के रूप में वहाँ इनका उल्लेख किया गया है। अशोक के लेख से ऐसा जान पड़ता है कि कलिंग-विजय के पश्चात् राजनीतिक विजय से उदासीन होकर जिन राष्ट्रों पर अशोक ने धर्म-विजय द्वारा अपना आधिपत्य स्थापित करके अपना धर्मानुशासन चलाया था उनमें ऐसे अनेक राष्ट्र और जनपद थे जो उसके राज्य की सीमा पर अवस्थित थे। राजनीतिक विजय में कदाचित् वे सब अशोक से पराजित न होते, फिर भी दार्शनिक बुद्धि से प्रेरित होकर, व्यर्थ हिंसा से बचने एवम् लोकहित की कामना से उन राष्ट्रों और जनपदों ने अशोक का नेतृत्व या साम्राज्य-पद स्वीकार किया था। उन्हीं में यह आंध्र जनपद भी था (अशोक का १३ वाँ प्रज्ञापन)। यद्यपि इस धर्मविजय के द्वारा विजित होने पर ये राष्ट्र अशोक के अधीन समझे जाते थे एवम् अशोक ने अपने उक्त प्रज्ञापन में भी स्पष्ट कहा है कि उनके देशों में देवानांप्रिय का धर्मानुशासन माना जाता है (भोज पितिनिकेषु, अंध्रपुलिंदेषु सर्वत्र देवनं पियस ध्रमनुशस्ति अनुवटन्ति), किंतु, केवल उसका धर्मानुशासन ही वहाँ माना जाता था, अन्य सब बातों में यह जनपद भी अन्य जनपदों की नाईं स्वतंत्र था। इस धर्मानुशासन मानने की परतंत्रता को भी आंध्र देश के वैदिक ब्राह्मण सम्राटों ने अशोक के पश्चात् मानना छोड़ दिया था और दशरथ के समय में ही शायद अन्य धर्मानुशासन माननेवाले राष्ट्रों और जनपदों की अपेक्षा सबसे प्रथम इन्होंने ही सिमुक की अध्यक्षता में अपनी स्वतंत्रता की घोषणा की थी। इसीलिए पुराणों ने इनके इतिहास का आरंभ उस समय से लिखना पसंद किया होगा। बौद्धधर्म के धर्मानुनुशासन से स्वतंत्र होने का अभिप्राय था वैदिक धर्म का पुनरुदय होना, और उस तिथि को इस राजवंश की स्थापना की तिथि के रूप में पुराणों में स्मरण रखा गया होगा। इसलिये भी हमने सिमुक के शासन का आरंभ-काल ई० पू० २३१ वर्ष माना है, जब दशरथ के पश्चात् अशोक का साम्राज्य राजवंश के भीतरी झगड़ों के कारण ही निर्बल होकर उच्छिन्न होने लगा था।

भारतवर्ष की इस प्रधान शक्ति के ह्रास-काल में जब दूर-दूर के राष्ट्र और जनपद अपनी-अपनी स्वतंत्रता स्थापित कर रहे थे तो भारत की सीमा पर स्थित विदेशी शक्तियों ने भी इस परिस्थिति से लाभ उठाया और भारतवर्ष में प्रथम क्षत्रपवंश या क्षहरात वंश का आरम्भ हुआ। अर्थात् आंध्र राजवंश एवम् क्षत्रप-क्षहरात वंश का उदय लगभग एक ही युग में हुआ था। इस वंश का अधिक परिचय आगे दिया जायगा।

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सिमुक का राज्य-काल ई० पू० २३१–२०८ (वि० पू० १७५–१५२) है।

२—कृष्ण (सब पुराण); कृष्णराज (विश्वकोष के संपादक की सूची); राज्य-काल १८ वर्ष, ई० पू० २०८–१९० (वि० पू० १५२–१३४)।

यह प्रथम राजा सिमुक का भाई था। यद्यपि सर्वत्र इसका राज्य-काल १८ वर्ष लिखा पाया जाता है, किंतु पार्जिटर महोदय ने इसका समय केवल १० वर्ष स्वीकार किया है। कदाचित् उन्होंने यह संख्या स्वयम् संशोधन या गणना करके लिखी है। किंतु हमें तो १८ वर्ष ही ठीक जान पड़ता है। हमारी इस सूची में दी गई गणना से भी यही सख्या ठीक बैठती है।

३—शातकर्णी मल्लकर्णी (पार्जि०); श्री शात्कर्णी (हिंदी विश्वकोष में भागवत और मत्स्य०); श्री मल्लकर्णी (ब्राह्मांड०, विश्व०); श्री सातकर्णी (हिं० वि० कोष में विष्णु०); श्री मल्ल शातकर्णी (विश्वकोष के संपादक की सूची); सातकर्णी प्रथम महान राजसूययज्ञकर्ता पुष्यमित्र का समकालीन (वेणी०); राज्यकाल ई० पू० १९०–१७२ (वि० पू० १३४-११६)।

यह कृष्ण (सं० २) का पुत्र था। इसका राज्यकाल भी पुराणों में सर्वत्र १८ वर्ष लिखा है, किंतु पार्जिटर महोदय ने १० वर्ष इसे भी गिना है। विश्वकोष के संपादक की सूची में भी यह संख्या १८ ही दी है और हमने भी यही मत स्वीकार किया है।

कलिंग चक्रवर्ती सम्राट् खारवेल महामेघवाहन ने जिनका राज्यकाल ई० पू० १८५ से १५५ तक (वि० पू० १२९–९९) निर्विवाद है एवम् उनके प्रसिद्ध हाथीगुफा वाले शिलालेख से सिद्ध है, इसी सातवाहन की कुछ भी चिंता न करके ई० पू० १८४ (वि० पू० १२८) में उसके पश्चिमी राज्य पर आक्रमण करके कृष्णवेणा नदी के तट की प्रजा को त्रस्त किया था एवम् मूषिक नगर को लूटा था। उस समय कदाचित् मूषिक नगर सातवाहनों की राजधानी का (प्रांतीय) नगर रहा होगा। फिर ई० पू० १८१ (वि० पू० १२५) में उसने सातकर्णी के अधीन राष्ट्रिक और भोजिक जनों को अपने अधीन बनाया (दुतिये च वसे अचितयिता सातकणि पछिम दिसं हय गज नर रध बहुलं दंडं पठापयति। कन्हवेनां गताय च सेनाय वितासितं मुसिक नगरं।········वितत मकुट सबिल मदिते च निखित छतभिगारे हित रतन सापतेये सवरठिक भोजके पादे वंदापयति पंचमे च)।'

पुराणों में इस सातकर्णी के विषय में कुछ लिखा नहीं मिलता, किंतु जिस सातकर्णीका उल्लेख ऊपर शिलालेख में किया गया है वह यही प्रथम सातकर्णी होना सम्भव है। खारवेल द्वारा परास्त होने के पीछे उस महान् विजेता के जीवन-काल में ही (ई० पू०

१—ना० प्र० प०, भाग ८, पृष्ठ ३१३-४

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१७२, वि० पू० ११६) इसका देहांत हो गया और सातवाहनों के साम्राज्य को जो धक्का कलिंग चक्रवर्ती सम्राट् के आक्रमण से लगा उससे उसकी दशा यह सातकर्णी न सँभाल सका।

इसी सातकर्णी के समय में पुष्यमित्र ने बृहद्रथ को मारकर मगध में शुंगवंश की स्थापना की थी। इसी के शासन के अंतिम वर्षों (लगभग १७५ ई० पू०, वि० पू० ११९) में नभोवाहन क्षहरात वंश मै उज्जयन पर अधिकार कर चुका था।

४—पूर्णोत्संग (पार्जिटर आदि सभी सूचियों में यह नाम दिया है, केवल भागवत में इसे पौर्णमास कहा है। राज्यकाल १८ वर्ष सर्वत्र, ई० पू० १७२–१५४ (वि० पू० ११६–९८)।

५ - स्कन्द स्तभि (पार्जि०, वेणी०, भागवत का चिविलक इनके मत में); स्कन्द स्वाति (विश्व० का मत्स्य०); स्कन्द स्वामी (विश्व० ब्रह्मांड०); इवीलक (विष्णु पुराण); स्कन्द सातकर्णी (विश्वकोष के संपादक की सूची)।

राज्यकाल सभी पुराणों में ७ वर्ष है किंतु पार्जिटर ने १८ वर्ष स्वीकार किया है। पुराणों और विश्वकोष के संपादक की सूची में इसकी क्रम-संख्या १० है, किंतु पार्जिटर और वेणीप्रसाद शुक्ल ने वही क्रम रखा है जो हमने स्वीकार किया है। जान पड़ता है कि पार्जिटर के सम्मुख स्कंदस्तभि के इस क्रम के लिये अवश्य हस्तलेख पुराणों में मिले होंगे। राज्य काल ७ वर्ष, ई० पू० १५४–१४७ (वि० पू० ९८–९१)।

६—सातकर्णी (पार्जि०, विश्व० मत्स्य०, विष्णु); शातकर्णी (विश्व०, ब्रह्मांड०); श्रीशातकर्णी विश्व० के संपादक की सूची); गौतमीपुत्र श्री विलिवायु सातकर्णी द्वितीय नहपान विजेता (वेणी०); अटमान (भाग०, वेणी०)।

राज्यकाल सर्वत्र ५६ वर्ष, ई० पू० १४७–९१ (वि० पू० ९१–३४)।

वेणीप्रसादजी की सूची में इसका क्रम आठवां है, अर्थात् पूर्णोत्संग; और इसके मध्य में उन्होंने लंबोदर और मेघस्वति ये दो नाम और रखे हैं जिनका राज्यकाल सब लेखों में प्रत्येक का १८-१८ वर्ष माना गया है। किंतु और सब सूचियों में अर्थात् पार्जिटर, विश्वकोष के संपादक की स्वनिर्मित सूची तथा उस कार्यालय में मत्स्य ब्रह्मांड और पुराणों की सूची में पूर्णोत्संग और सातकर्णी का मध्यवर्ती कोई नाम नहीं मिलता। सबने सातकर्णी को पाँचवें अनुक्रम पर एवम् उसका राज्यकाल ५६ वर्ष लिखा है। हमने अपनी सूची में स्कंदस्तभि को पाँचवाँ क्रम दिया है, इसलिये उसमें सातकर्णी का क्रम छठा हो गया है। इस सातकर्णी के सम्बंध में उसकी माता गौतमी के उत्कीर्ण कराए उस लेख से अनेक महत्त्वपूर्ण और जानने योग्य बातें ज्ञात हुई हैं जो अपने पोते और इस सातकर्णी के पुत्र पुलुमायि के उन्नीसवें वर्ष में नासिक के निकट त्रिरश्मि (त्रिरराहु) पर्वत की तीसरी गुफा में उत्कीर्ण कराया था। उसी लेख से हमारी इस सूची के सातवें

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राजा का क्रम भी निर्विवाद सिद्ध हो जाता है। संक्षेप में इस लेख में इतनी बातें कही गई हैं—

शातकर्णी की माता गौतमी बालश्री थी। इसीलिये यह शातकर्णी गौतपुत्रीपुत्र कहा जाता है। बालश्री स्वयम् महादेवी अर्थात् एक स्वतंत्र महाराज की प्रधान राजमहिषी थी; वह महाराज-माता थी, उसका पुत्र गौतमीपुत्र शातकर्णी भी स्वतंत्र विजयी महाराज था; और वह महाराज-प्रपितामही भी थी—उसके पुत्र की उपार्जित विजयलक्ष्मी इस शासन के उत्कीर्ण होने के समय तक इस वंश में अक्षुण्ण बनी हुई थी।

यह शासनपत्र पुलुमायि वाशिष्ठीपुत्र के शासन के उन्नीसवें वर्ष में ग्रीष्म के दूसरे पक्ष के तेरहवें दिन लिखा गया था। इसके द्वारा उक्त महादेवी ने इस पर्वत पर स्थित एक लेख या गुफा (लयन) बौद्ध भिक्षुओं को दान दी थी। इस दान-पत्र में पुलुमायि को दक्षिणापथ का स्वामी कहा है। अपने पुत्र गौतमीपुत्र शातकर्णी के विषय में उसने अनेक प्रशंसापूर्ण बातें कही हैं। जैसे "वह हिमालय, सुमेरु और मंदर पर्वतों के समान सारवान् था; असिक, अश्मक, मूलक, सुराष्ट्र, कुक्कुर, अपरांत, अनूप, विदर्भ, आकर और अवंति पर उसका राज्य था। उसके राज्य में विंध्या, ऋक्षवान, पारियात्र, सह्य, कृष्णागिरि, मंच, श्रीस्तन, मलय, महेंद्र, श्वेतगिरि और चकोर पर्वत थे। तीन ओर से समुद्र उसके विस्तृत राज्य की सीमा थी। उसने क्षत्रियों के दर्प और अभिमान को चूर कर दिया था। शक, यवन और पह्लवों का उसने संहार किया था और क्षहरात वंश का तो उसने मूलोच्छेद ही कर दिया था। धर्म से उपार्जित करों का ही वह उपयोग करता था। अपराधी शत्रु को भी प्राणदंड देना अच्छा नहीं समझता था। उसने द्विजों और शूद्रों के अनेक वंशों को उभारा था। वह सातवाहन वंश के यश का प्रतिष्ठापन करनेवाला था। वर्णधर्म की उसने स्थापना की थी। वह युद्धों में शत्रुओं को सदैव विजय करता रहा। वह स्वयं बड़ा विद्वान्, गुणी, श्रीसंपन्न, धनुर्धारा, शूरवीर और कट्टर ब्राह्मण था। पराक्रम में वह राम, केशव, अर्जुन और भीमसेन जैसा था और "नाभाग, नहुष, जनमेजय, शंकर, ययाति, राम तथा अबरीष के समान यशस्वी था"; आदि।

इस लेख में शातकर्णी गौतमीपुत्र के पिता अर्थात् बालश्री के पति का नाम कहीं नहीं दिया गया है और न उनसे पूर्व के किसी राजा का नाम या वंशावली दी गई है। इसके साथ ही गौतमीपुत्र को उसकी गर्वीली माता ने सातवाहन कुल की प्रतिष्ठा स्थापित करने वाला कहा है। इसका अभिप्राय यही है कि गौतमीपुत्र से पहले जो खारवेल के समय में सातवाहन वंश को इस वंश के तीसरे राजा के समय में धक्का लगा था उससे और उसके पश्चात् क्षहरात वंश के अवांतर में सातकर्णी गौतमीपुत्र द्वारा नहपान के मारे जाने तक, यह वंश सँभल नहीं सका था। यह ठीक है कि गौतमी बालश्री ने अपने आपको महादेवी कहकर एक स्वतंत्र महाराज की प्रधान महिषी होने की घोषणा की है, किंतु उसने इस प्रज्ञापन में इस वंश के यश-प्रतिष्ठापन का श्रेय अपने पति को न देकर अपने पुत्र को दिया है; इससे ही सिद्ध होता है कि गौतमी बालश्री का पति अधिक

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से अधिक अपने विजिगीषुओं के सम्मुख केवल अपनी सत्ता स्वतंत्र रूप से बनाए रख सका होगा। पुत्र के गुणों से ख्याति लाभ करनेवाले व्यक्ति स्वयम् गुणवान् नहीं होते, यह सिद्ध है। स्कंदस्तभि, जो संभवतः इस गौतमी बालश्री का पति होगा, १८ वर्ष ही राज्य करके मर गया था और उसकी मृत्यु के समय बालश्री की आयु अधिक न रही होगी। तभी तो लगभग ६०-६५ वर्ष पीछे वह यह शासन ऐसी योग्यता के साथ उत्कीर्ण करा सकी थी। यदि स्कंदस्तभि की मृत्यु के समय बालश्री की अवस्था ३० वर्ष की भी मानी जाय तो उस समय सातकर्णी लगभग १५ वर्ष के होंगे। ३०+३६+१९=८५ वर्ष के लगभग इस उत्कीर्ण लेख के समय इस महाराज-प्रपितामही की अवस्था रही होगी।

इन्होंने अनेक द्विज (ब्राह्मण) और वैश्य तथा शूद्र कुलों को उठाया था। इस कथन से एक अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण सूचना और भी मिलती है। देश उस समय क्षहरातवंशी शकों द्वारा पददलित हो रहा था। यवन और पह्लव जो उनके पड़ोसी भी थे, उनकी संधि में सम्मिलित थे। इन विदेशियों के गुट से लड़ने के लिये गौतमीपुत्र को तैयारी करते समय विशाल सेना उठानी पड़ी होगी। उसी प्रयत्न में अनेक छोटे छोटे वंशों के युवकों को सैनिक सेवाओं के कारण इन्होंने उठाया होगा और अपने पराक्रम-प्रदर्शन द्वारा वे अवश्य उन्नति कर गए होंगे। हमारे इस कथन के पुष्ट करनेवाले अनेक उदाहरण सन् १९१४ के तथा गत द्वितीय महायुद्ध के अवसर पर भारत की अँग्रेजी सरकार द्वारा सैनिक-संगठन के प्रसंग में मिलते हैं। उसी समय मालवगण, क्षुद्रकगण आदि गणों के अनेक युवकों को अपना वीर्य प्रकट करने का अवसर मिला था और उसी समय खारवेल के समय से चले आनेवाले गर्दभिल्लों के वंशवालों को भी उन्नति करने का अवसर प्राप्त हुआ था। ऐसे ही युवकों में से एक वह भी था जो गौतमीपुत्र सातकर्णी से युद्ध में परास्त होकर मृत्यु-मुख में जानेवाले नहपान के पीछे उज्जयन का शासक बनाया गया था और जो परिस्थिति के अनुसार कालांतर में वहाँ का स्वतंत्र शासक हो गया था।

गौतमी बालश्री ने अपने लेख को अपने पोते पुलुमायि के शासनकाल में उत्कीर्ण कराया था, किंतु उस लेख में पुलुमायि की प्रशंसा में एक भी शब्द नहीं है। इससे यही सिद्ध होता है कि जिन द्विज और अवर कुलों को गौतमीपुत्र ने उठाया था वे धीरे धीरे शक्ति शाली होते जा रहे थे एवम् अपनी स्वतंत्र सत्ता स्थापित करने में प्रयत्नशील थे; किंतु उसका उत्तराधिकारी पुलुमायि उनको अपने अधीन नहीं रख सका था, वह केवल दक्षिणापथ का अधीश्वर रह गया था। योग्य पिता के अयोग्य पुत्र की बालश्री जैसी प्रपितामही किन शब्दों में प्रशंसा करती? इसी समय यह गर्दभिल्ल वंश भी उज्जयन में स्वतंत्र हो गया था।

यहाँ नहपान के सम्बंध में भी कुछ कहना आवश्यक है। भारतवर्ष में सिकंदर के पश्चात् जिन विदेशी लोगों ने अपने पैर जमाने का प्रयत्न किया था एवम् कुछ सफलता भी प्राप्त की थी, उनमें ये क्षत्रप कहे जानेवाले क्षहरातवंशी भी थे। दुर्भाग्य से

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जिस प्रकार सातवाहनों के राजाओं की क्रम-सूची एवम् उनका राज्यकाल अभी तक स्थिर नहीं हो सका है, उसी प्रकार इन क्षहरातों का इतिहास भी अभी अंधकार में ही है।

प्राचीन मुद्राशास्त्रज्ञों का मत है कि ईसा से पूर्व पहली शताब्दी में अथवा इससे कुछ ही पहले उत्तरापथ के शक राजाओं के एक शासनकर्ता ने मालवा और सौराष्ट्र में एक नवीन राज्य स्थापित किया था। यह राज्य कुषाण राज्य के स्थापित होने से पहले स्थापित हुआ था। इस वंश के राजाओं ने राजा की उपाधि ग्रहण नहीं की थी। उनकी उपाधि महाक्षत्रप थी। महाक्षत्रप उपाधिवाले शकजातीय दो भिन्न-भिन्न राजवंशों ने भिन्न-भिन्न समय में सौराष्ट्र में अधिकार प्राप्त किया था—पहले राजवंश ने कुषाण साम्राज्य स्थापित होने से पहले और दूसरे राजवंश ने कुषाण राजवंश के साम्राज्य के नष्ट होने के समय अधिकार प्राप्त किया था। प्रथम राजवंश के केवल दो राजाओं के सिक्के मिले हैं। पहले राजा का नाम भूमक था। इसके केवल ताँबे के ही सिक्के मिले हैं। उनपर एक ओर सिंह की मूर्ति और दूसरी ओर चक्र है। और एक ओर खरोष्ट्री अक्षरों में "छहरदस छत्रपस भूमकस" और दूसरी ओर ब्राह्मी अक्षरों में "क्षहरातस क्षत्रपस भूमकस" लिखा है। भूमक का कोई शिलालेख या तिथियुक्त सिक्का अभी तक नहीं मिला है। इसीलिये उसके कालनिर्णय का समय अभी नहीं आया है। नहपान के चाँदी के सिक्के मेनेंद्र के द्रम्म के ढंग के हैं। ऐसे सिक्कों पर एक ओर महाक्षत्रप का मस्तक और यूनानी अक्षरों में उसका नाम तथा उपाधि और दूसरी ओर चक्र, शेर और वज्र तथा ब्रह्मी और खरोष्ठी अक्षरों में राजा का नाम और उपाधि दी है। खरोष्ठी अक्षरों में "रंञो छहरतस नहपनस" और ब्राह्मी अक्षरों में "राज्ञो क्षहरातस नहपानस" लिखा रहता है। नहपान के जामाता उषवदात अथवा ऋषभदत्त के बहुत से शिलालेख मिले हैं। इन लेखों में नहपान के राज्यांक अथवा किसी दूसरे संवत् के ४१ वें ४२ वें और ४५ वें वर्ष का उल्लेख है। जुन्नार की एक गुफा में नहपान के प्रधान मंत्री अयम के लेख में संवत् ४६ का उल्लेख है। उषवदात और अयम के शिलालेखों में जिन अनेक वर्षों का उल्लेख है, पुरातत्ववेत्ता उन्हें शक संवत् मानते हैं और उसके अनुसार ईसवी दूसरी शताब्दी के आरंभ में नहपान का समय निश्चित करते हैं। परंतु प्राचीन लिपितत्व के प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण के अनुसार नहपान को महाक्षत्रप रुद्रदामा का निकटवर्ती अथवा कनिष्क वाशिष्क, हुविष्क और वासुदेव आदि कुषाणवंशी राजाओं का परवर्ती नहीं माना जा सकता।

नहपान के राजत्व-काल के अंतिम भाग में अथवा उसकी मृत्यु के उपरांत आंध्रवंशी राजा गौतमीपुत्र शातकर्णी ने शकों के पहले क्षत्रप वंश का अधिकार नष्ट कर दिया था और नहपान के चाँदी के सिक्कों पर अपना नाम लिखवाया था (श्रीराखालदास बंद्योपाध्याय; प्राचीनमुद्रा, भाग १, पृष्ठ १९३-५; नागरीप्रचारिणी सभा द्वारा प्रकाशित हिंदी संस्करण)।

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विंसेंट स्मिथ ने एक स्थान पर लिखा है कि क्षहरात वंश का सबसे पहला शासक भूमक था जिसके सिक्के पार्थियन शासकों के अनुकरण पर बने मिलते हैं; और इसी आधार पर उन्होंने इस भूमक के इन्हीं पार्थियन शासकों का अधीन क्षत्रप होने की संभावना की है। उस पार्थियन शासक का नाम उन्होंने गंदुफर दिया है जिसके अधीन यह भूमक रहा होगा। इस आधार पर भूमक और उसके उत्तराधिकारियों के समय का निर्णय किया जा सकता है, और परिणामतः शातकर्णी नरेश के युद्ध का समय निर्णीत होने से उस वंश के भी कई सम्राटों का समय निश्चित हो सकेगा। किंतु गंदुफर के समय का निर्णय करने में पाश्चात्य ईसाई विद्वान् निष्पक्ष नहीं जान पड़ते। कहते हैं कि ईसा का शिष्य टामस गंदुफर के राज्य में भारत में आया था। इसी प्रवाद के आधार पर वे लोग ईसा की प्रथम शताब्दी के प्रथमार्द्ध में गंदुफर का समय निश्चित करना चाहते हैं।१ किंतु प्रत्नलिपितत्व के फल के अनुसार यह असंभव है। सिक्कों के अतिरिक्त उसी टामस-रचित 'हैम-प्रवाह' (लिजेंडा ऑरिया-गोल्डेन लिजेंड) नामक धर्मप्रचार संबंधी ग्रंथ में तथा तख्तेबहाई में प्राप्त गंदुफर के राज्यकाल के २६ वें वर्ष के एक लेख में किसी संवत् का १०३ वाँ वर्ष उल्लिखित है, किंतु आज तक ऐतिहासिक विद्वान् यह निर्णय नहीं कर सके हैं कि यह संवत् कौन सा है। श्री जायसवाल ने नहपान का समय ई० पू० ८०-५० वर्ष माना है; किंतु यह भी केवल अनुमान मात्र है। वस्तुत: यह निर्विवाद है कि प्रत्नलिपितत्व के सिद्धांतों के अनुसार क्षहरात और उसके वंश के सिक्के आदि ईसा से उत्तरकाल के कदापि सिद्ध नहीं किए जा सकते; और उस दशा में जो इतिक्रम यहाँ स्थापित किया जा रहा है, वह यदि इतिहास की अन्य घटनाओं से भी सामंजस्य रखे तो उसे अवश्य स्वीकार करना चाहिए। नहपान के सम्बंध में भारतवर्ष के पुराण और जैन इतिहासकार अपना स्पष्ट मत प्रकट करते हैं कि उसका शासन-काल विक्रम संवत् से बहुत पहले ही समाप्त हो चुका था, जब कि नहपान का उत्तराधिकारी गर्दभिल्ल वंश उज्जैन में लगभग ६०-७० वर्ष राज्य करके शकों के नए आक्रमण के कारण उच्छिन्न हो गया था; और तभी विक्रम ने उनका नाश कर शकारि पदवी ग्रहण करके मालवगण-स्थित्यब्द की स्थापना की थी। यदि हमारे ऊपर लिखे राजाओं के क्रम से इस घटनाक्रम में भी व्याघात नहीं पड़ता तो यह क्यों न स्वीकार किया जाय?

ऐसा जान पड़ता है कि प्रद्योत शुंग और उनके उत्तराधिकारी राजाओं के शासनकाल में मालवा में गण-शासन नहीं रहा था, और आंध्रवंशी शातकर्णी के आने से पूर्व विदेशी क्षहरातवंशियों ने भी गणतंत्र को शक्ति प्राप्त नहीं करने दी थी। गौतमीपुत्र शातकर्णी ने अपने युद्ध-सम्बंधी साधनों का संघटन करने के अवसर पर मालवा के मालव और क्षुद्रक (कदाचित् उसकी माता के उत्कीर्ण कराए लेख के 'अवर' या शूद्र) गणों के युद्ध प्रिय युवक सैनिकों को भी समुन्नत किया। गर्दभिल्ल या तो उन्हीं गणों में से कोई वंश रहा होगा अथवा उनसे भिन्न ये कोई समुद-तटीय भील सरदार रहे होंगे, या खारवेल के समय के उत्कलदेशीय शासकों की संतानों में से रहे होंगे, जैसा कि अनेक विद्वान्

१—बिशप् मिडलीकॉट, "इंडिया ऐंड दि अपॉस्टल टॉमस", पृ० ११७

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इनको उस वंश से संबद्ध बताते हैं। ये कोई भी रहे हों, किंतु इनका स्वतंत्र उल्लेख उक्त उत्कीर्ण लेख में प्राप्त न होने पर भी यह अनुमान किया जा सकता है कि इस वंश को इसी अवसर पर प्रकाश में आने का सुयोग प्राप्त हुआ था। क्षहरातों की पराजय एवम् गौतमीपुत्र शातकर्णी की विजय के पश्चात् मालवा पर आंध्रों का ही शासन रहा था, जैसा कि उत्कीर्ण लेख से सिद्ध होता है और उस जनपद में पुरानी गण-शासन पद्धति का पुनरुद्धार अभी तक नहीं हो सका था। किंतु गौतमीपुत्र का पुत्र और उसका उत्तराधिकारी पुलुमायि अपने पिता जैसा शूरवीर और साहसी तथा योग्य शासक नहीं था, यह बात इसी से सिद्ध है कि उक्त उत्कीर्ण लेख में, जो पुलुमायि के ही शासनकाल में प्रकाशित किया गया था, उसके सम्बंध में एक भी प्रशंसा का वाक्य नहीं कहा गया है। इससे मालवा के गणों को अपना स्वतंत्र संघटन करने के लिये अवसर मिल गया था और गर्दभिल्ल वंश की अध्यक्षता में यह गण अपना बल बढ़ाने लगा था।

हम गौतमीपुत्र शातकर्णी, नहपान, गर्दभिल्ल, शक-आक्रमण और विक्रम संवत् की घटनाओं का क्रम इस प्रकार स्थिर करते हैं—

गौतमीपुत्र, रा० का० ५६ वर्ष, १४६–९० ई० पू० (९०–३४ वि० पू०)।

नभोवाहन, रा० का० ४० वर्ष, १७२-१३२ ई० पू० (११६–७६ वि० पू०)।

नभोवाहन का पतन, क्षहरात वंश का अंत, गौतमीपुत्र द्वारा उनके शासन के पंद्रहवें वर्ष के लगभग—१३२ ई० पू० (७६ वि० पू०)।

गर्दभिल्लों का उदयारंभ—१३२ ई० पू० (७६ वि० पू०)।

गर्दभिल्लों का राज्यकाल—७२ वर्ष, १३२–६० ई० पू० (७६-४ वि० पू०)।

गर्दभिल्लों की स्वतंत्र सत्ता—१३ वर्ष, ७३–६० ई० पू० (१७–४ वि० पू०)।

शकों का उज्जयनी पर अधिकार, गर्दभिल्लों का अंत, शकों का राज्यकाल–४ वर्ष, ६०–५६ ई० पू० (४ वि० पू० से विक्रम संवत् के आरंभ तक)।

विक्रम संवत की स्थापना—५६ ई० पू०।

पुराणों में गर्दभिल्लों का आरम्भ तो उसी समय से मान लिया गया जान पड़ता है जब क्षहरात वंश को नष्ट करने के लिये गौतमीपुत्र द्वारा किए गए संघटन में उनको उत्थान का अवसर मिलने लगा था। किंतु गौतमीपुत्र जैसे तेजस्वी, यशस्वी और शूर-वीर शासक के शासन से यह वंश अपने आपको स्वतंत्र नहीं कर सकता था और उसकी सार्वभौम सत्ता को स्वीकार करके ही इसने मालवा की राजधानी उज्जयनी में अपनी सत्ता को स्थिर रखा। इसी अवांतर में मालव-क्षुद्रकगणों को भी लगभग ५–६ शताब्दियों के नष्ट हुए गणतंत्र शासन के पुनःसंगठन का अवसर मिल गया। जान पड़ता

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है कि गौतमीपुत्र के जीवन-काल में गणतंत्रवाले नेता, जिनमें निःसंदेह गर्दभिल्ल भी थे, बड़ी चतुरता के साथ छिप-छिपकर अपनी शक्ति बढ़ाते रहे; अथवा गौतमीपुत्र उनके केवल पराधीनता स्वीकार करने मात्र की उक्ति से ही संतुष्ट रहे होंगे, इसीलिये इनके प्रयत्नों को आगे सफलता मिल सकी होगी।

आंध्रवंश के इस शालिवाहन राजा का शासन जिस समय उत्तर में लगभग यमुनातट तक बढ़ चुका था उस समय विदिशा का नागवंश भी उनके अधीन हो गया था। इसी गौतमीपुत्र ने पाटलिपुत्र के शुंगवंश से अपनी स्वतंत्रता भी प्राप्त कर ली थी, किंतु अभी कण्ववंश के निर्बल राजा वहाँ शासनचक्र कुछ काल पर्यंत और चलाते रहे।

७—पुलुमावी प्रथम, वाशिष्ठीपुत्र (वेणी०); अनिष्टकर्मा (भाग); पुलोमा (विश्वकोष का यलियका मत्स्य०); पुलोमयि (विश्व०, ब्रह्मा०) पुलिमत (विश्व०, विष्णु०); पुरिमत (विश्व. भाग०); वाशिष्ठीपुत्र पुलुमायि (विश्वकोष के सम्पादक की सूची); पुलोमावी प्रथम (पार्जिटर ३६ वर्ष, ई० पू० ९१–५४) वि० पू० ३४ से वि० सं० २ तक)।

इस राजा का यह क्रम हमने पूर्वोक्त गौतमी के शिलालेख के आधार पर एवम् श्रीवेणीप्रसाद की सूची को देखकर स्वीकार किया है। अन्यत्र इसका क्रम चौबीसवाँ या पचीसवाँ प्राप्त होता है। पार्जिटर ने पुलुमायि प्रथम से भिन्न ही अनिष्टकर्मा या अनिष्टकर्ण का शासन अपनी सूची में लिखा है।

यह तेजहीन आंध्र राजा था। इसी के समय में विक्रम ने मालवा में गणतन्त्र की स्वतन्त्र स्थापना की, एवम् शकों को पराजय करके अपने संवत् का प्रचार भी किया। शकों को पराजित करने में पुलुमायि ने भाग नहीं लिया था, अन्यथा उक्त गौतमी के शिलालेख में इस घटना का उल्लेख ही यथेष्ट होता।

८—लंबोदर। सर्वत्र इसका यही नाम प्राप्त होता है। इसका राजकाल भी सर्वत्र १८ वर्ष लिखा है। पार्जिटर को छोड़कर सबने इसका क्रम छठा स्वीकार किया है किंतु उन्होंने इसे सातवें क्रम पर रखा हैं। गौमतीपुत्र शातकर्णी और वाशिष्ठीपुत्र शातकर्णी के संबंध में ऊपर जिन घटनाओं का उल्लेख किया गया है उन्हीं के आधार पर हमने इसका क्रम अपनी सूची में आठवाँ रखा है। राज्यकाल ई० पू० ५४-३६ (वि० सं० २–२०)।

९—आपीड़क, आपीलक (पार्जि० विश्व०, ब्रह्मांड०); आपीतक (विश्व० मत्स्य०, विश्व० संपादक की सूची); शुद्ध नाम आपीलक जान पड़ता है। भागवत और विष्णु पुराण में और वेणी सूची में यह नाम नहीं है।

राज्यकाल सर्वत्र १२ वर्ष; पार्जिटर में इसका क्रम आठवाँ और अन्यत्र सातवाँ है। ई० पू० ३६-२४ (वि० सं० २०-३२)।

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१०—मेघस्वाति या मेघस्वति (मत्स्य०, विष्णु०, भाग०, पार्जि० और विश्व० के सम्पादक की सूची); सौदास (विश्व० कार्यालय का ब्रह्मांड०)।

राज्यकाल सर्वत्र १८ वर्ष, और क्रम पार्जिटर में नवाँ, तथा अन्यत्र आठवाँ। ई० पू० २४-६ (वि० सं० ३२-५०)।

११—स्वाति या स्वति (पार्जि०); स्वति सति (वेणी०); शाति (विश्व० मत्स्य०); भास्कर (विश्व० ब्रह्मांड०); भागवत और विष्णु पुराण में यह नाम नहीं है। इन दोनों ग्रंथों में और सूचियों से ६ या ७ नाम कम दिए हैं।

विश्वकोष की सूचियों में इसका क्रम नवाँ और पार्जिटर दसवाँ तथा वेणी-प्रसाद में चौदहवाँ है। इसका राज्यकाल १८ वर्ष लिखा पाया जाता है—ई० पू० ६ से ई० सन् १२ तक (वि०सं० ५०-६८)।

१२—स्कन्द स्वाति (पार्जि०, विश्व मत्स्यपुराण); स्कन्दस्वामि (विश्व० ब्रह्मांड); स्कन्द स्वति (वेणी०); चकोर (भाग०); स्कन्द शातकर्णी (विश्वकोषकार की सूची); राज्यकाल ७ वर्ष, ई० सन् १२ से १९ तक (वि० सं० ६८-७५)।

१३—अरिष्टकर्णी (विश्व० मत्स्य०); मेमिकर्णी (विश्व० ब्रह्मांड०); अरिष्ट-कर्मन (विश्व०, भागवत और विष्णु पुराण); अरिष्ट कर्ण (पार्जि०); श्रीकृष्ण सातकर्णी (वेणी०); अनिष्टकर्मा (भाग०; वेणी०); राज्यकाल सर्वत्र २५ वर्ष—ई० १९ से ४४ तक वि० सं० ७५-१००)।

वेणीप्रसाद की सूची में इसका क्रम दसवाँ है, पार्जिटर में सोलहवाँ और अन्यत्र भी सोलहवाँ ही है।

१४—हाल (पार्जि०, विश्व०, मत्स्य०, ब्रह्मांड०, भाग०, विष्णु०, विश्वकोष के सम्पादक की सूची); हाल सातकर्णी (वेणी); राज्यकाल सर्वत्र ५ वर्ष–ई०४४-४९ (वि० सं० १००-१०५)। वेणीप्रसाद में इसका क्रम ग्यारहवां है और अन्यत्र सब जगह सत्रहवाँ है।

१५-मंडलक (विश्व०, ब्रह्मांड०); मंडल शातकर्णी (विश्व०, मत्स्य पुराण); पत्तलक (विश्व०, विष्णु०); तलक (विश्व०, भाग०); पट्टनक मंडलक, तलक सातकर्णी (वेणी०); मंतलक (पार्जि०); मंडल शातकर्णी (विश्व० के संपादक की सूची)।

राज्मकाल सर्वत्र ५ वर्ष, ई० ४९-५४ (वि० सं० १०५-११०); वेणी० में इसका क्रम बारहवाँ और प्रायः सर्वत्र अठारहवाँ है।

१६—श्रीशकसेन (शिलालेख); पुरिकसेन, प्रविल्लसेन (वेणी०); पुरिषभीरु

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(भाग०, वेणी० में उद्धृत); पुरीन्द्र सेन (विश्व०, मत्स्य०); पुरिकषेण (विश्व०, ब्रह्मांड०); प्रविल्लसेन (विश्व०, विष्णु०); पुरीन्द्रसेन (विश्वकोष)।

राज्यकाल सर्वत्र २१ वर्ष, ई० ५४-७५ (वि० सं० ११०-१३१); इसका क्रम वेणी० में तेरहवाँ और अन्यत्र सब जगह उत्तीसवां दिया हैं।

अब तक जिन राजाओं के नाम लिखे जा चुके हैं उनमें हाल सातकर्णी (क्रम संख्या १४) के विषय में यह ज्ञात हो चुका है कि इसने गाथासप्तशती के नाम से एक प्रसिद्ध काव्य-ग्रंथ निर्माण किया था। उनमें प्रसंगत: उसने संवत्कार विक्रमादित्य का उल्लेख भी एक गाथा में किया है। इससे इसके विषय में दृढ़ता से कहा जा सकता है कि यह विक्रमादित्य शकारि का परवर्ती था, और विक्रमादित्य का नाम उसकी मृत्यु के थोड़े समय पश्चात् ही से काव्यों में आने लगा था। किंतु मध्यभारत के इतिहास में इसी अवांतर में कितने ही परिवर्तन हो चुके थे। ईसा से लगभग ७८ और विक्रम से २२ वर्ष पूर्व कण्वों ने शुंगों की रही सही शक्ति को तोड़कर मगध-साम्राज्य का एक प्रकार से अन्त कर दिया था। उस समय सातकर्णी पुलुमायि प्रथम (ऊपर सातवांक्रम) राज्य कर रहे थे। पुलुमायि भी अपने पिता की कीर्ति को अक्षुण्ण नहीं रख सके थे और कण्वों का अधिकार कहीं कहीं आंध्र प्रांतों पर भी हो गया था। कण्वों के आक्रमण से बचने के लिये ही कदाचित् नाग अपनी राजधानी को भूतनन्दी के समय में, विक्रम संवत् से लगभग २४ वर्ष पूर्व, पद्मावती (पवायों) में उठा लाये थे। आंध्रों की निर्बलता से लाभ उठाकर गर्दभिल्ल वंश अब मालवा में अपनी स्वतंत्र सत्ता की घोषणा करने लगा था और कण्व वंश का अन्त भी निकट आ रहा था। पुराणों के अनुसार ईस्वी ४३ या वि० १४ में कण्वों का अन्त हो गया था और यह कार्य आंध्र राजाओं के द्वारा ही सम्पन्न हुआ था। हमारी गणना और सूची-क्रम के अनुसार उस समय लंबोदर (क्रम-संख्या ८) का शासनकाल था। लंबोदर से आगे जिन आंध्र राजाओं के नाम दिये गये हैं उनके विषय में विशेष कुछ ज्ञात नहीं है, किंतु शकों के उस आक्रमण-काल में जिसका अन्त विक्रमादित्य ने किया था एवम् जब से संवत् की गणना का आरम्भ हुआ था, विदिशा के नाग भयभीत होकर नागपुर (नंदिवर्धन) में शरण लेने के लिये चले गये थे। विक्रमादित्य का राज्यकाल ६० वर्ष माना जाता है। वस्तुत: इसका निश्चय कर सकना कठिन है। मालवगणों की यह पुनर्जीवित स्वतंत्रता या गणतंत्रता शीघ्र ही फिर शकों द्वारा आक्रांत हुई थी और उस आक्रमण का समय कोई भी ऐतिहासिक विद्वान निश्चयपूर्वक और संतोषजन रीति से अभी तक नहीं निश्चित कर सका है। तो भी यह निश्चित है कि शकों के इस दूसरे आक्रमण का अन्त होने पर शाके शालिवाहन का आरम्भ हुआ था। वस्तुत: भारतवर्ष को शकों ने दूसरी बार कब आक्रांत किया, अभी इसके निर्णय का समय नहीं आया जान पड़ता, क्योंकि इस निर्णय के आधार पर शक इतिहास का सम्पूर्ण क्रम निर्भर है। तो भी एक बात का अनुमान किया जा सकता है कि शाके शालिवाहन का आरम्भ श्री शकसेन शातकर्णी के शासन में हुआ होगा, अर्थात् शकों का दूसरा पतन भारतवर्ष में आंध्रों के द्वारा ई० सन् ७८ (सं० १३५) में श्रीशकसेन के शासन के लगभग पंद्रहवें वर्ष में हुआ था। श्रीशकसेन के विजयी शासन

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से पूर्व हाल सातकर्णी ने कुषाण विजेता कफस या कुजुल कफस से मिल कर सिंधु देश से पार्थ या पारद शासकों को मार भगाया था। किंतु उसी समय से ये कुषाण शक उत्तरभारत में घिरते जा रहे थे और कुजुल कफस के जीवन-काल में ही सम्पूर्ण उत्तर तथा पश्चिम भारत उनके अत्याचारों से अत्यन्त त्रस्त होने लगा था। हाल के उत्तराधिकारी सातकर्णी नरेशी मंडलक छोटे से प्रांत पर ही राज्य करते रहे होंगे, अथवा सम्भव है कि शकों के द्वारा ही वे किसी युद्ध में उनसे लड़ते लड़ते ही मारे गये हों; इसीलिये इनका राज्यकाल केवल ५ वर्ष रहा। इनके नाम मंडलक और पत्तलक इनके व्यक्तिवाचक नाम न होकर उपाधिवाचक रहे होंगे। इन नामों से ऐसी ध्वनि भी भी आती जिससे हमारा अनुमान सिद्ध होता है।

कुजुल अफस के पीछे उसका पुत्र वीमकावफिस कुषाणपति हुआ और उसके समय में शातकर्णी श्रीशकसेन ने कुषाण शक्ति का अन्त संवत् १३५ में उसे युद्ध में परास्त करके कर दिया। तभी से शाके शालिवान का आरम्भ माना जाता है।

यहाँ यह जान लेना चाहिए कि यद्यपि कुषाण युद्ध में हार गए और उनकी शक्ति एकबार टूट गई तथा डा० कोनो के शब्दों में वीम के समय में एक बार कुषाण-शक्ति का समूल नाश हो गया था, किंतु एक बार फिर उसका भारतवर्ष में उदय हुआ जिसका उल्लेख आगे किया जायगा।

१७.१६—महेन्द्र मृगेन्द्र (विश्व० संपादक सूची, वेणी०); मृगेन्द्र स्वातिकर्णी (विश्व० मत्स्य०); मृगेन्द्र स्वातिकर्ण (पार्जि०); महेन्द्रशातकर्णी (विश्व०ब्रह्मांड०); यूनानियों का मांबरस सरगनस महान्[१] (वेणी०); राज्यकाल ३ वर्ष, ई० ७५-७८, वि० सं० १३१–१३४।

कुंतल स्वातिकर्ण (पार्जि०, विश्व०, मत्स्य०); कुंतल शातकर्ण (विश्व० ब्रह्मा०, विश्व० संपा० सूची); कुंतल सातकर्णी, यूनानियों का युवराज सारगनसर सातकनस (वेणी०)।

राज्यकाल ८ वर्ष, सन् ७८–८६ (वि० सं० १३४-१४२)।

सुंदर सातकर्णि—सुंद्र, सुनंदन, यूनानियों का सांदनस सारगनस[३] (वेणी०); सुंदर सातकर्णी (विश्व०, मत्स्य०, ब्रह्मांड०, पार्जि०); सुंदर शातकर्णी (विश्व० संपा० सूची); राज्यकाल १ वर्ष, सन् ८७ (सं० १४३)।

इन तीनों राजाओं का यह क्रम वेणी० सूची के अनुसार है; किंतु और सूचियों में क्रम सं० १७ और १८ के नाम ग्यारहवें और बारहवें क्रम पर तथा उन्नीसवाँ नाम

१—Mambaras Sarganas senior.
२—Junior Sarganas.
३—Sandenas Sarganas.

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इक्कीसवें क्रम पर लिखा पाया जाता है । पार्जिटर में पहले दो नाम बारहवें और तेरहवें क्रम पर हैं ।

श्री वेणीप्रसाद शुक्ल की सूची में सुंदर सातकर्णी का समय ईस्वी सन् ८३ स्वीकार किया गया है; इसका कारण यह है कि वे कुंतल शातकर्णी को शालिवाहन शक का संस्थापक एवम् शकों का पराभवकर्ता मानते हैं । अतएव वे ई० ७८ में उनका शासन भी स्वीकार करते हैं । कुंतल सातकर्णी स्वयम् मृगेंद्र शातकर्णी के पुत्र थे, अतः इस घटना से मृगेंद्र का क्रम भी निर्णीत हो जाता है । इस प्रसंग में उन्होंने पेरिप्लस का एक उद्धरण इस प्रकार दिया है—

"एरिका (आर्यावर्त) से मांबरस का राज्य आरंभ होता है । मांबरस और छोटे सारगनस के राज्यकाल में ग्रीक व्यापारी जहाज कल्याण के बन्दरगाह में बे-रोकटोक माल उतारते थे । कल्याण ग्रीक जहाजों के लिये खुला बन्दरगाह था । लेकिन जब उस पर सांदनस का शासन हो गया तो ग्रीक जहाजों को लाचार हो कल्याण छोड़-कर बेरिगाजा में आना पड़ता था ।"

इस अवतरण में उक्त तीनों शातवाहन नरेशों के नाम क्रमपूर्वक आए हैं, अतः उनका क्रम भी सुनिश्चित मानना उचित है । समय के विषय में उक्त ऐतिहासिक विद्वान् ने यह युक्ति दी है कि स्कोफ ने पेरिप्लस के भूगोल का रचना-काल ८० ई० माना है, अतः ८३ ई० में बेरिगाजा (भृगु-कच्छ) में सांदनस का राज्य था । सन् ८० की रचना में वह सन् ८३ के भारतीय व्यक्ति का वृत्तांत यूनान में बैठकर किस प्रकार लिख सका होगा, यह बात हमारी समझ में नहीं आई । पेरिप्लस का यह समय विंसेंट स्मिथ ने भी स्वीकार किया है, किंतु यह मत कुछ सर्वसंमत नहीं है । कैनेडी तो ई० ७० ही उसका रचना-काल स्वीकार करता है, किंतु मैकक्रिडल ने सन् ८९ तक इस ग्रंथ का लिखा जाना स्वीकार किया है । यह बहुत अधिक संभव है कि लगभग १०० ई० तक पेरिप्लस की इस रचना में घटाबढ़ी होती रही हो । यह तो निर्विवाद है कि भारतवर्ष के पोत-सदन भृगुकच्छ का जो वृत्तांत उसने लिखा है उसका घटना के वास्तविक समय से दो-तीन वर्ष पीछे ही लिखा जाना सम्भव है, जब नाविकों ने भारतवर्ष से जाकर वहाँ ये बातें कही होंगी । उस समय भारतवर्ष से यूरोप को लौटने में दो वर्ष से कम क्या लगते होंगे ? ऐसी दशा में हमने जो समय सूची-क्रम में दिया है वह ठीक जान पड़ता है ।

संवत् १३५ (सन् ७८) में जो शकों की पराजय हुई थी उसने उनकी बढ़ती हुई विजय के प्रचार को रोक दिया था एवम् उन्हें पीछे हटा दिया था, तो भी वे उत्तरी भारतवर्ष, पंजाब, सिंधु आदि पच्छिमी प्रांतों में अपनी जो शक्ति स्थापित कर चुके थे वह सब अभी शेष थी; और यह कार्य इन तीनों शालिवाहनों के समय में पूरा हुआ था, जैसा कि 'बृहत्कथा' तथा 'कथासरित्सागर' में वर्णित कुंतल शातकर्णी के वृत्तांत से ज्ञात होता है । उक्त ग्रंथों के अनुसार कुंतल सातकर्णी ने कर्णाटक के राजा जयध्वज, कलिंग के राजा कलिंगसेन (अथवा भद्रसेन-वीरसेन एवम् मलयराजपुत्री से विवाह करके अपने

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पृष्ठ की रक्षा से निश्चित होकर गौड़ के राजा शक्तिकुमार, लाट (सौराष्ट्र) के राजा विजयवर्मन, कश्मीर और सिंधु देश के राजा सुनंदन, विंध्याचल के राजा गोपाल और पारसीक सरदार निमुक को साथ लेकर सम्पूर्ण भारतवर्ष से शक-शक्ति को पूर्णरूपेण उच्छिन्न कर दिया था और विक्रमादित्य-विषमशील की उपाधि ग्रहण की थी।

कोई-कोई ऐतिहासिक विद्वान् इस कुंतल शातकर्णी की विजय को सन् ७८ ई० में मानकर इसी को शाके शालिवाहन चलाने का श्रेय देते हैं। किंतु उक्त ग्रंथों में उसे संवत्-प्रवर्तक नहीं कहा गया है। कथासरित्सागर में उसके प्रताप और शौर्य का विस्तृत वर्णन किया गया है, उसकी दिग्विजय का उल्लेख सविस्तार दिया है और उसकी प्रशंसा में भी अनेक श्लोक लिखे गए हैं। फिर कोई कारण समझ में नहीं आता कि यदि उसने शक संवत् की स्थापना की थी तो उसका उल्लेख क्यों नहीं किया गया। इसी महाराज के विषय में कथासरित्सागर में यह भी लिखा है कि उसने कण्व-राजकन्या से विवाह करके मगध का राज-सिंहासन भी दहेज में प्राप्त किया था। इसका स्पष्ट अर्थ यह है कि कण्व राजवंश का अंत भी इसी के द्वारा हुआ था और कण्व राजा उस समय से पाटलिपुत्र में आंध्रों के कारागार में बंदी होकर दिन काट रहे थे। पुराणों में इसी घटना के सम्बंध में लिखा है --

कारावायनं ततो भृत्यः शुङ्गानां चैव यच्चैषां
क्षपित्वा तु बालीयान् स शिशुकोऽन्ध्रः सजातियः। **स्कंद०**

मत्स्यपुराण में इसका पाठ इस प्रकार दिया है, जो अधिक शुद्ध है—

कारावायनास्ततो भूपा : सुशर्माणं प्रसह्य तं
शुङ्गानां च यच्छेषं क्षपयित्वा तु बलं तदा।
शिशुकोऽन्ध्रों सजातीय प्राप्स्यतीमां वसुन्धरा॥

किंतु इस घटना का सामंजस्य होना कठिन दिखाई देता है, जैसा कि लेख के आरम्भ में भी कहा गया है। कण्ववंश का अंत ३७ या २७ ई० पू० (विक्रम सं० १९ या २९) सिद्ध होता है जो ७८ ई० से बहुत पूर्व है। इसका अर्थ कदाचित् यह हो सकता है कि ई० पू० ३७ या २७ में कण्ववंश का अधःपतन हो गया था एवम् उस वर्ष आंध्र राजा स्वतंत्र हो गए थे। उन्होंने उसी वर्ष शुंगों और उनके सामंतों की शक्ति का अंत मालवा में नहीं किया था, तथा मगध में वे (कण्ववंश) नाममात्र के भूपति रह गए थे। ३० या ४० वर्ष पीछे जब इन तीन आंध्रों ने शक-कुषाण शक्ति का पराभव किया तभी उन्होंने प्रथम कण्वों का, फिर शुंगों का और तत्पश्चात् शक-कुषाणों का अंत किया होगा। लंबोदर सातकर्णी (क्रम संख्या ८) ही प्रथम सातवाहन राजा हो सकता है, जिसने कण्ववंश के विरुद्ध विद्रोह करके अपनी स्वतंत्रता घोषित की थी। कुंतल शातकर्णी ने जिस कण्व को कैद किया था एवम् जिसके नाममात्र अधिकार से मगध के राजसिंहासन का हरण किया था, उसका नाम भी सुशर्मा रहा होगा, किंतु वह नारायण के पुत्र से भिन्न होगा। वस्तुतः पुराण का उक्त लेख विश्वासपूर्ण नहीं है।

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२० - सौम्य (विश्व० मत्स्य०); सौम्य सातकर्णी/(विश्वकोष के संपादक की सूची)।

राज्यकाल ३॥ या ४ वर्ष, ई० ८७-९० (संवत् १४३-४७)। यह नाम किसी ग्रन्थ सूची में प्राप्त नहीं हो सका है, किंतु बिना इसके राज्यकाल की गणना किए पुराणोक्त राजाओं की संख्या और उनके वर्षों का योग भी ठीक नहीं बैठता; इसलिये हमने विश्वकोष के संपादक के मत को स्वीकार किया है।

२१—चकोर शातकर्णी (पार्जि०, विश्व० ब्रह्मांड०, भाग० और विष्णु०); विकर्ण (विश्व० मत्स्य०); राज्यकाल ६ मास। सन् ९०, संवत् १४७। वेणी० सूची में इसे स्कंद स्वति का नामांतर माना है जो कि नहीं है।

२२—शिवस्वामि शातकर्णी (विश्व० संपादक); शिवस्वाति (विश्व० मत्स्य०, विष्णु०, पार्जि०); शिवस्वामि (विश्व० ब्रह्मांड० शिवस्वामि न् मथारिपुत्र (वेणी०)।

राज्यकाल २८ वर्ष, सन् ९०–११८, संवत् १४७–१७५ वि०।

२३—गौतमीपुत्र (विश्व०, मत्स्य०, ब्रह्मांड०, भाग०, पार्जि०); गौतमीपुत्र पुलमायी तृतीय (वेणी०); गौतमीपुत्र शातकर्णी (विश्व० संपादक०)।

राज्यकाल २१ वर्ष, सन् ११८–१३९, संवत् १७४-१९६।

२४—पुलोमा (विश्व०, मत्स्य०, पार्जि०); पुलोमायि (विश्व०, ब्रह्मांड०); पुलिमत विश्व०, विष्णु०); पुरिमत (विश्व०, भाग०); वाशिष्ठीपुत्र पुलुमायि द्वितीय (विश्व० संपादक)।

पार्जिटर आदि विद्वान् इसे सं० २४ का पुत्र और वही प्रसिद्ध पुलोमावी स्वीकार करते हैं जिसके समय का नासिक का वह प्रसिद्ध शिलालेख है, जिसे गौतमी बालश्री ने उत्कीर्ण कराया था। स्पष्ट ही उनका यह मत हमें मान्य नहीं है!

राज्यकाल २४ वर्ष, सन् १३९–१६३, संवत् १९६–२२०।

२५—शिवश्री (विश्व०, मत्स्य०, विष्णु०); शिवश्रीपुलोमायि (विश्व०, ब्रह्मां., पार्जि०); शिवश्री वाशिष्ठीपुत्र सातकर्णी (वेणी०); शिवश्री सातकर्णी (विश्व. संपा.) मेदशिरस (विश्व०, भाग०)।

राज्यकाल ७ वर्ष या ४ वर्ष, जैसा कि विश्वकोष के संपादक की सूची में है। हम ७ वर्ष स्वीकार करते हैं—सन् १६३–७०, सं० २२०–२२७।

२६—शिवस्कंद शातकर्णी (पार्जि० और विश्व० संपादक); शिवस्कंद (विश्व., मत्स्य०, ब्रह्मांड०, विष्णु०, भाग०, वेणी०)।

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राज्यकाल ३ वर्ष, सन् १७०-७३, संवत् २२७-२३० ।

२७—यज्ञश्री सातकर्णी (विश्व०, मत्स्य०); यज्ञश्री शातकर्णिक (पार्जि०, विश्व०, ब्रह्मांड०); यज्ञश्री (विश्व०, विष्णु०, भाग०); यज्ञश्री गौतमीपुत्र (वेणी०)।

राज्यकाल १९ वर्ष; किंतु पार्जिटर ने २९ वर्ष लिखा है। हमने पार्जिटर का मत स्वीकार किया है। सन् १७३–२०२, संवत् २३०–२५९।

२८ – विजय (पार्जि०, विश्व०, मत्सय०, ब्रह्मांड०, भाग०, विष्णु, विश्व० संपादक की सूची, वेणी)। राज्यकाल ६ वर्ष, सन् २०२–२०८, संवत् २५९–२६५।

२९—चंद्रश्री (विश्व०, ब्रह्मड०, वेणी०, विष्णु); चंद्रश्री (चंद्र) सातकर्णी (पार्जि०); चंडश्री शातकर्णी (विश्व० मत्स्यपुराण); चंद्रविज्ञ (विश्व० भाग०); चंड-साति (सिक्के)।

राज्यकाल १० वर्ष, सन् २०८-२१८, संवत् २६५-२७५ ।

३०—पुलोमावी (पार्जि०); पुलुमावी (वेणी०); पुलोमा (विश्व०, मत्स्य०); पुलोमायि (विश्व०, ब्रह्मांड०); पुलुमायि शातकर्णी (विश्व० संपा०); पुलीमार्चिस (विश्व० विष्णु०); सलोमधि (भाग०);

राज्यकाल ७ वर्ष, सन् २१८-२२५, संवत् २७५-२८२ ।

सब राजा ३०; राज्यकाल ४६० वर्ष ।

इन अंत के राजाओं के क्रम में भी कहीं कहीं व्यत्यय देखा जाता है, किंतु वह अधिक और महत्वपूर्ण नहीं है।

इस प्रकार राजाओं की संख्या एवम् शासन-काल की द्रष्टि से भी इस वंश का शासन मुगलों के वंश की अपेक्षा लगभग द्विगुण, भारतवर्ष के दक्षिणापथ में उस समय रहा, जब दक्षिण-भारत निरंतर एवम् उत्तर-भारत कभी कभी कुषाण और शकों के आक्रमणों से हिल रहा था, जब भारतवर्ष में नागवंश और वाकाटकवंश अपना साम्राज्य उठाने में दत्तचित्त थे और जब सम्पूर्ण भारत क्रांतियों का क्रीडास्थल बन रहा था।

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Review Column

This column has been instituted for publishing reviews of books, articles and theses submitted for the Doctorate Degrees in Vikram University. Accordingly it is requested that matter for review may be sent to the Managing Editor of the Journal (Arts).

—MANAGING EDITOR

LIST OF SUBJECTS ON WHICH RESEARCH DEGREES HAVE BEEN AWARDED IN ARTS (1969-70) IN VIKRAM UNIVERSITY, UJJAIN

Name of the Degree—Ph. D.

अनुक्रमांक	अभ्यर्थी का नाम	उपाधि	विषय
१.	कुमारी कौशल्या गिदवानी	हिन्दी	हिन्दी भाषा, व्याकरण और साहित्य को पाश्चात्य विद्वानों की देन।
२.	श्री सनत्कुमार सिंहल	हिन्दी	हिन्दी और अँग्रेजी निबन्ध साहित्य का तुलनात्मक अनुशीलन।
३.	श्री फूलचन्द्र सिंह	हिन्दी	प्रसाद-पूर्व हिन्दी कथा साहित्य का मनोवैज्ञानिक अनुशीलन और प्रसाद का कथा साहित्य
४.	श्री विमलचन्द्र जैन	हिन्दी	प्रसाद की भाषा
५.	श्री जगदम्बा प्रसाद पाण्डेय	हिन्दी	प्रसादोत्तर हिन्दी नाटकों में चरित्र चित्रण का स्वरूप और शैलियों का अनुशीलन
६.	श्री मदन मोहन दुबे	हिन्दी	हिन्दी साहित्य में ऐतिहासिक उपन्यास।
७.	श्री नरसिंह चौहान	हिन्दी	नूरमोहम्मद-काव्य और दर्शन
८.	श्री विजय वापट	हिन्दी	हिन्दी और मराठी के एकांकी नाटकों का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन (सन् १८६० से १९६० तक)
९.	श्री वीरेन्द्रसिंह परिहार	हिन्दी	बुन्देली लोक गीतों में प्रेम भावना।
१०.	श्री घनश्यामदास शर्मा	हिन्दी	हिन्दी के लघु उपन्यासों का अनुशीलन
११.	श्री छैलबिहारी गुप्त	हिन्दी	गोरखबानी : एक भाषा वैज्ञानिक अध्ययन।
१२.	श्री धर्मनारायण शर्मा	हिन्दी	तुर्रा-किलंगी साहित्य-एक अनुशीलन।

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अनुक्रमांक	अभ्यर्थी का नाम	उपाधि	विषय
१३.	श्री यदुवीरप्रसाद भटनागर	हिन्दी	आचार्य चतुरसेन शास्त्री और श्री वृन्दावनलाल वर्मा के उपन्यासों के नारी पात्रों का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन ।
१४.	श्री शान्तिलाल जैन	हिन्दी	हिन्दी के यथार्थवादी नाटक और नाट्य शैली ।
१५	श्री रामकिशन माली	हिन्दी	"सर्वोदय साहित्य का साहित्यिक मूल्यांकन"
१६.	श्री राजेन्द्रकिशोर शर्मा	अँग्रेजी	The Dramatic Works of Eugene O' Neill : A Study of Form and Technique.
१७.	श्री अनंत रावजी शिंदे	अँग्रेजी	Shaw's Theory & Practice of Comedy.
१८.	श्री महेन्द्र पाल शेखावत	संस्कृत	वेदान्त तथा आधुनिक धर्म सुधारक ।
१९.	श्री वीरेन्द्र कुमार जैन	संस्कृत	तिलक मंजरी का आलोचनात्मक अध्ययन ।
२०.	श्री कुलभूषण लोखण्डे	संस्कृत	जैन स्तोत्र साहित्य का आलोचनात्मक अध्ययन ।
२१.	कुमारी शोभा कानूनगो	संस्कृत	संस्कृत, पाली, प्राकृत साहित्य में उज्जयिनि के उल्लेखों का अनुक्रमिक समीक्षात्मक अध्ययन ।
२१.	श्री रघुनन्दन त्रिपाठी	संस्कृत	A Cultural Study of Matsya Purana.
२२.	श्री चन्द्रिकाप्रसाद द्विवेदी	संस्कृत	नव्य व्याकरण में परिभाषेन्दुशेखर एवम् लघुशब्देन्दुशेखर का आलोचनात्मक अध्ययन ।
२३.	कुमारी किरण	संस्कृत	श्री रूपगोस्वामी का संस्कृत साहित्य में योगदान ।
२४.	श्री व्रजवल्लभ शर्मा	संस्कृत	भवभूति के नाटकों का शास्त्रीय अध्ययन ।
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३६.	श्री ब्रजेशकुमार गुमाश्ता	शिक्षा	ईसाई मिशन संस्थाओं का भारतीय शिक्षा में योगदान । (१८०० से १९००)

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